

COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Mar. 16, 1959

ANNUAL REPORT
FOR THE YEAR 1958



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MARCH 9, 1959.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed.

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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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II

¹ Congressmen William E. Miller of New York and August E. Johansen of Michigan were appointed members of the committee by the 86th Congress, replacing Mr. Kearney and Mr. McIntosh.

Union Calendar No. 51

86TH CONGRESS <i>1st Session</i>	}	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES	}	REPORT No. 187
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Mr. WALTER, of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on Un-American Activities, submitted the following

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[Pursuant to H. Res. 7, 86th Cong., 1st sess.]

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

18. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

- * * * * *
- (q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.
(A) Un-American activities.
(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 85TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1957

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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* * * * *

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1958

CHAPTER I

FOREWORD

How serious is the Communist menace within the United States today?

Although the Communist Party as a formal, visible entity does not now loom large on the American scene, it is the studied judgment of this committee that the Communist apparatus in the United States is more treacherous and, in some respects, a greater menace than ever before.

It can reasonably be asked: "How can this be true when Communist Party membership, compared with that of a number of years ago, is admittedly low? What about the statements which have appeared in the press claiming that the Communist Party is finished, that it has suffered so many reverses that there is no longer any need to worry about it?"

The answer is that these claims are not based on thorough knowledge of the Communist conspiracy and its operations. In some cases there is good reason to believe that assertions that the Communist movement in the United States is dead are part of a deliberate effort, in the interest of the conspiracy, to deceive the American public.

In attempting an objective estimate of the danger the Communist movement poses to this country at any particular time, the following factors must all be taken into consideration:

1.

The Strength and Danger of Communism Must Not Be Judged Merely by the Number of Communist Party Members

The primary aim of Communists is to seize—or maintain—power.

This means that quality, discipline, complete dedication to the party's cause, and complete subservience to its will are more important to them than mere numbers.

The Communists consider themselves an elite, the "vanguard of the working class," the select few who will lead and guide the uninformed masses to the earthly paradise of "Socialism." For this reason, they have never made huge Communist parties their major goal. They are satisfied with the minimum number required to win—and then maintain—control of any country. Even in the Soviet Union, where they have ruled for over 40 years, the membership of the Communist Party in this slave state of over 200 million people has never reached the 8 million mark. (The Communists currently claim 7,495,000 party members in the U.S.S.R.—more than they have ever claimed before.) In mainland China, which has been under the control of Red Fascism for 10 years, the claimed membership of the Chinese Communist Party is only 12 million in a population

that numbers somewhere between 500 and 600 million people. This is only 1½ to 2 percent of the population.

In recent months, Communist Party officials in the Soviet Union and other Red nations have boasted that there are over 33 million Communist Party members in the world and that 900 million people live under Communist rule. On the basis of these figures, Communist parties average *less than 4 percent* of the populations of all Communist nations.

Twenty years ago, Earl Browder, then leader of the U.S. Communist Party, when testifying before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, was asked if it was not true that the Communist Party never sought large numbers. The following colloquy then took place between Browder and members of the committee:¹

BROWDER. * * * we like numbers too; but not at the expense of quality.

Q. But quality is the prime consideration?

BROWDER. Quality is number 1; numbers is number 2.

Q. But quantity is not your objective?

BROWDER. Not if quality has to be sacrificed.

Quality is obviously what makes any organization successful. All too often people of some non-Communist nations have judged the danger of communism only by the number of Communists within their borders, forgetting that a small, tightly knit, dedicated band of conspirators is a much greater menace than a group many times larger which is loosely knit, undisciplined, and lacking in complete dedication. The result has been that, before they woke up to their error of judging the Communist danger by numbers alone, they found themselves ground under the heel of a Communist tyranny.

According to Lenin himself, the Bolshevik Party had only 240,000 members in 1917 when it overthrew the only representative government the Russian people ever had and seized power for itself.

In 1921, when the Communist Party of China held its first congress in Shanghai there were only about a dozen members present. Within 30 years, the Communists had succeeded in expanding their influence and numbers so that they could take over a nation of 500 million people. In 1945, when Juan Jose Arevalo was elected President of Guatemala, there were not more than a dozen Communists in that country of about 3 million people. Within 3 or 4 years, the Communists had the country completely within their grip.

These facts reveal clearly that the present relatively small membership of the U.S. Communist Party as a formal entity is not the measure of its danger to the country.

As the chairman of this committee wrote in "Chronicle of Treason," a committee document published in March 1958:

It is essential to remember * * * that the effectiveness of the Communist operation has nothing whatever to do with the size of the party. A compact, hard-core elite can be and is of greater value to the Kremlin than would be an unwieldy mass of undisciplined and various adherents.

¹ "Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States," Hearings before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, September 1939, Vol. 7, p. 4490.

2.

**Communist Strength Is Determined By The Causes—And Effects—
Of Its Losses (Or Gains) In Party Membership**

Several factors are responsible for the drop in Communist Party membership in recent years. Some of them, to a certain extent, are indications of a weakening of the party. Others actually represent a gain to the party in certain respects. For this reason, it is a mistake to assume that a drop in Communist Party membership, irrespective of the reasons for it, automatically represents a great loss of Communist power and influence.

The following are the principal reasons for the decrease in members the Communist Party has suffered during the last 10 years:

(a) *Disaffection*

A number of those who have left the Communist Party in the past decade have made a complete break with communism.

The true nature of the international Communist conspiracy has been clearly spotlighted in the past decade by a number of widely publicized events—the 1949 trial of the top Communist Party leaders; the Korean war, during which the Communist Party openly and treasonously sided with the enemies of the United States who inflicted over 150,000 casualties on this country; the East Berlin uprising; Khrushchev's revelation of Stalin's crimes; and the brutal doublecross and slaughter of the Hungarian people by Soviet military forces.

These events, singly and/or collectively, have thoroughly disillusioned an unknown number of former Communist Party members who have left the conspiracy and are perhaps permanently cured of any infection with the Communist virus. From the purely quantitative viewpoint, the loss of these members has meant a weakening of the Communist Party and its influence. Qualitatively, however—for reasons that will be covered in following pages—it has been something of a mixed blessing to the party.

(b) *Fear*

Many persons who have severed all association with the Communist Party in the past 10 years have done so only out of fear. They have not done it because of disillusionment with the party itself or loss of their belief in communism.

Some of these people held government jobs—on the Federal, State, county, or municipal level. Because of Federal and local government security programs, congressional investigations, and also private exposures of Communist activity, these people were afraid to risk losing their positions by remaining in the party.

Others, though not employed by government, feared loss of their jobs if party affiliation on their part was ever revealed because they were employed by private businesses—broadcasting companies, film studios, newspapers, and similar private enterprises—which cannot afford to retain Communists on their payrolls because their successful operation depends to a great extent on public confidence and good will.

Still others who have left the party because of fear were independent, self-employed professional people and businessmen—doctors, lawyers, dentists, owners of small businesses—who feared both eco-

conomic injury (through loss of patients or customers) and social stigma or ostracism in their community if it should ever be discovered that they were Communists.

These people remained ideological Communists; they were not disillusioned with the movement; they had not lost their Communist faith. While they lacked the complete dedication required to remain in the party during a period of adversity, they were still strongly sympathetic to it and to Moscow.

Many of these people still do all they can to help the party. With their previous Communist Party training and by posing as "liberals" while they promote the Communist viewpoint on major national and international issues, they can do much in their professions and businesses and among their friends and acquaintances to promote the Communist Party line.

Overall, it is difficult to claim that the "loss" of these people has seriously hurt the party. Many of them are still working for it and their departure has strengthened the conspiracy's internal security. Moreover, if the day ever comes when communism will again be fairly acceptable in this country, they will be much more openly pro-Communist. Some will be willing to rejoin the party and, if the party decides at the time that the largest possible membership is tactically desirable, they will be taken back in.

(c) Security purges by the Communist Party itself

There is much greater "security" for the Communist conspiracy in small than in large numbers. This is true of both ideological security and security against penetration, exposure, and prosecution by law-enforcement agencies.

In the ideological field:

The larger the Communist party, the more difficult it is to thoroughly indoctrinate all its members and the greater the danger of dissension or deviation from what is currently determined to be true communism. Any splitting in a party, or failure of a member or faction to unhesitatingly obey the commands of its leaders, weakens the party's monolithic unity and thus impedes its drive to attain its objectives.

For this reason all Communist parties have their own secret police (in the U.S. party, it is called the Control Commission), who are continually checking on the ideological purity of all members, and eliminating the deviationists, the rebellious, or the weak and wavering. Continuing purges among the rank and file to maintain ideological unity are a characteristic of all Communist parties. In addition, all Communist parties have had to resort to periodic purges even among their leaders to weed out the independent minded, the dissidents, and deviationists.

Inasmuch as all actions stem basically from beliefs, a party that has come through ideological purges, even though it may be smaller in numbers than it was before, is actually stronger from the viewpoint of unity and its ability to intensely and unerringly drive toward its objectives.

Security against law-enforcement agencies:

Years ago, in his work "What Is To Be Done," Lenin made the following statement:

* * * the more narrow we make the membership of this organization, allowing only such persons to be members who

are engaged in revolution as a profession and who have been professionally trained in the art of combatting the political police, the more difficult it will be to "catch" the organization.

Communists in non-Communist nations, particularly when they are operating illegally and the "political police" are therefore out to "catch" them, have always followed Lenin's teaching on this score.

United States Communists have been particularly careful in this respect during the past 10 years. After it was revealed in the trial of the party's top leaders in 1949 that undercover operatives of the FBI had penetrated even the leadership circles of the conspiracy, the party instituted a strict and comprehensive security check of all its members. This has been continued up to the present time and has led to the elimination of a considerable number of former party members for security reasons. This action on the part of the party is another reason for its drop in membership.

Unquestionably, the party's own security purge has caused disaffection on the part of former members who were actually completely loyal and were expelled against their will. At the same time, however, it is also true that many of these expelled members, though no longer technically in the party, are still ideological Communists and, as such, are doing all they can to promote the party's and Moscow's interests from outside its ranks.

As a result of these security purges and the purging of some high-ranking ideological deviationists, the U.S. Communist Party today is much stronger in some respects than it was before. Its membership has been boiled down to hard-core, seasoned revolutionists, who have not only survived the party's own purges but who have been unshaken in their devotion to the conspiracy by major international developments which have led to disillusionment on the part of thousands of Communists in many areas of the world.

Armando Penha testified before this committee in its New England and Atlanta hearings, held, respectively, in March and July 1958. Penha had served as an FBI undercover operative in the Communist Party from 1950 until the time of his first appearance before the committee during its Boston hearings. He had held important party posts in the New England area and had also served on the party's National Textile Commission. During the Atlanta hearings, the following exchange took place between Mr. Penha and the committee counsel:

Q. According to press reports, which we have seen from time to time in the Communist press, the actual size of the entity known as the Communist Party has been reduced, Mr. Penha. Does this mean, in your judgment, that the effectiveness or strength or menace of the Communist Party has been proportionately reduced?

Mr. PENHA. Absolutely not, sir.

Q. Why?

Mr. PENHA. The reason for that is very basic. The party is not interested in numbers. It is interested in quality. In fact, as a result of the comrades that either have resigned or have been expelled or have been detected by the party, they, as a result of that, have strengthened themselves in removing these weak links. The party consists of a hard-core, well-organized, efficient group of Communists.

This committee does not know just how many of the former Communists who left the party in the last 10 years did so because they were completely disillusioned with communism; what proportion was purged by the party itself, or the number who have left only for fear of exposure. It does, however, propose to those who claim that the party is finished because the great majority of these former members are now strongly anti-Communist, completely dedicated to American principles and ideals and no danger to the country, that they ask themselves these questions:

How many of the thousands of these former party members have volunteered to pass on to duly authorized congressional investigating committees, for the benefit of the American people, their knowledge of the conspiracy, its operations and agents?

How many of them, unwilling to testify because of the mistaken notion that it isn't quite cricket to identify conspirators, have by speech or writing—and without naming names—made any effort to alert the American public to the strategy, tactics, propaganda devices, and other techniques the Communist Party is using in its efforts to destroy freedom here?

How many of them, in any way, are doing anything to fight communism?

The committee believes that unless many dozens of examples can be cited in response to each one of these questions (and few can be cited), it is completely misleading to claim that the Communist Party has been deeply hurt by the "loss" of thousands of members.

3.

Communist Party Organization

The organizational structure of any group has much to do with its strength and its ability to weather adverse conditions, particularly detection and prosecution by law-enforcement agencies. Lenin, in his "Thesis on Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress" (of the Communist International), wrote:

In all countries * * * it is absolutely necessary for every Communist Party systematically to combine legal with illegal work, legal with illegal organizations * * * it is necessary, immediately, for all legal Communist Parties to form illegal organizations for the purpose of systematically carrying on illegal work, and of fully preparing for the moment when the bourgeoisie resorts to persecution.

Communist parties everywhere have followed Lenin's order, establishing illegal, underground organizations as adjuncts to their "legal" organizations. Because so much of Communist activity, including that of so-called "legal" or aboveground organizations, is secret, it has always been difficult to make a clear-cut distinction between the underground or illegal apparatus of the Communist movement and the aboveground, "legal" organizations.

Today, as in the past, there is an almost complete separation between the two, with only a few key people in the legal apparatus having any contact with the illegal or strictly underground organization. However, because most of the so-called aboveground or "legal" Communist apparatus in the United States has gone underground in

varying degrees it is particularly difficult for the average person to make a decisive distinction between the two groups or to detect Communist activity where it exists.

Normally the distinction between the two sections is this:

The underground or illegal apparatus has traditionally included those Communists who serve as members of, and couriers for, espionage rings which are directed by Soviet agents. It has also included, among others, international Communist agents who supervise and direct domestic subversive activity; specially trained saboteurs, and those Communists who succeeded in obtaining sensitive positions in government or in powerful policy-influencing institutions. All of these, in order to protect their positions, must completely cut themselves off from open party members and activities, receiving orders and giving information only to specially designated underground contacts.

The underground is made up of the most hardened, dedicated, and trustworthy Communists. For this reason, and because of its extremely tight security, it is much less likely to be affected by purges and disaffection than the aboveground apparatus. There is no reason to believe that the Communist underground has suffered membership losses comparable to those of the aboveground organization.

The aboveground or "legal" party apparatus is that section of the conspiracy which operates more or less openly. The expression "more or less" is used because much of its activity, too, is secret and designed to avoid detection.

The aboveground is usually made up of the party's national and state officials who work overtly in their respective headquarters; the smaller unit officers and rank-and-file members who openly belong to Communist Party shop units or neighborhood clubs and just as openly attend party meetings, rallies, parades, and generally take part in public Communist Party functions, making no effort to conceal their affiliation with the conspiracy.

This open, aboveground section of the U.S. Communist Party—particularly on the rank-and-file level—has practically disappeared from the American scene in the last ten years. This fact has led many people to the mistaken conclusion that there is no longer any serious Communist danger to the country.

Following the indictment of the top leaders of the U.S. Communist Party in 1948, the "aboveground" section of the party reorganized thousands of its rank-and-file members on a semiunderground basis. Membership cards were no longer issued. Open neighborhood clubs and open shop units were disbanded and their members divided into small cells of three to five persons, which met secretly, usually late at night, in the homes of the cell members.

Many party leaders also went into hiding at this time, as the party sought to build deep within the underground a corps which could replace open officials who might be arrested in the course of the Government's prosecutions under the Smith Act. Special tasks in the enlarged underground were given to a considerable number of trusted party members. They served as couriers in the underground; their homes were used as mail drops, hide-outs and meeting places for party functionaries.

All this was done according to plan and longstanding Communist doctrine. As far back as 1931, B. Vassiliev, a high-ranking Comintern

official, writing in "The Communist International" on "Organizational Problems in Underground Revolutionary Work,"² warned Communists that—

the increasing artfulness of the police apparatus of the bourgeoisie governments in the struggle against the Communist movement makes it essential for the latter to have a more complicated, flexible and accurately functioning organization.

"This organization," he said, "will inevitably have to rely on a strong conspirative apparatus."

But how could the Communists carry out their task of winning over the people of any country when they were being "persecuted" by the police and therefore had to go underground? Vassiliev, repeating Lenin's teaching, said this could be done by—

the formation of an illegal apparatus alongside the still functioning legal Party apparatus, to take over the functions of the legal apparatus as this is liquidated as the result of police repression, and also to carry out specific functions which arise from the fact of the sharpening of the class struggle, such as the protection of speakers, of Party buildings, etc., and to prepare the Party for higher forms of struggle in the future. In proportion as the legal apparatus of the Party is liquidated, the directing functions will inevitably pass more and more to the illegal apparatus.

Vassiliev then gave detailed information on just how the Communists were to set up their illegal or underground apparatus—outlining the preparation of secret headquarters, storage places for party records, the concealment of printing presses, the establishment of a courier and communications system, and all the other procedures necessary for underground existence.

No Communist Party, however, likes—or can afford—to go *completely* underground for any length of time. If it does so, it will tend to die on the vine. It will find it extremely difficult to recruit new members. Older rank-and-file members will die off or, unable to stand the strain of a completely underground life for long periods, will become disillusioned and leave the conspiracy.

Most important of all, from Moscow's view, the party will lose its ability to influence the non-Communist masses along Communist lines. Vassiliev, at the same time that he stressed the importance of thorough-going preparation for underground life whenever it became necessary, warned Communists against the danger of going too far underground:

We can imagine a Party organization so well hidden that the police do not even suspect its existence, but if this Party organization, while hiding from the police, has become invisible to the toiling masses also, such a Party organization by this fact alone loses its most important feature as the organization of the vanguard of the working class and is converted from an organization of the Communist Party into a helpless group of conspirators.

² "The Communist International," Sept. 1, 1931, pp. 442-446.

The aboveground section of the U.S. conspiracy, well schooled in Communist tactics, did not make the mistake, as it moved underground, of completely severing its channels of communication to the American people. It took two major steps, one open and one covert, to avoid this error.

The open step: It maintained an open national headquarters and, while it closed down some of its district (which corresponded roughly to State) headquarters, it also kept a fair number of them open. In addition, it continued to operate many of its old fronts, set up some new ones, and continued to publish its major party and front periodicals.

The covert step: While the party went largely underground and almost disappeared from view as an organization or entity, its members were told that they, as individuals, were to continue—and even step up—their aboveground (though concealed) Communist agitation and propaganda activity.

By 1956, sensing a less hostile attitude toward communism in this country, the party began a move toward more aboveground activity again. Some of its leaders who had jumped bail after Smith Act convictions and gone into hiding, reappeared and surrendered to authorities. Other functionaries emerged from the underground. The party held a national convention in February 1957—the first since 1950. There was an increase in Communist front activity although lower level party clubs and units continued to meet in secret.

The Communist organizational structure today is therefore made up of the following elements:

The traditional underground or “illegal” apparatus which, as always, remains completely hidden from view and engages only in clandestine activity.

The traditional “legal” section which normally operates aboveground now operates on three levels:

- (a) An open surface organization (much smaller than in the past).
- (b) A semiunderground organization, made up of the bulk of its rank-and-file members who meet secretly but operate above ground individually and as ostensible non-Communists.
- (c) A group composed, for the most part, of key functionaries and leaders who have gone, and remain, deeply underground.

Just a partial listing of the activities the “aboveground” Communist Party is carrying on *openly* today is sufficient to disprove the claim that the conspiracy is on its last legs and no longer constitutes a danger to the country.

In the publishing field alone, it is regularly putting out the following publications:

The Worker—weekly newspaper published in New York.

People's World—weekly newspaper published in San Francisco.

Political Affairs—monthly political and agitational directive published in New York.

Mainstream—monthly cultural and literary organ published in New York.

Science and Society—quarterly theoretical organ on Marxism-Leninism published in New York.

New World Review—monthly propaganda organ on the Soviet Union, Red China, and the Communist satellites, published in New York.

Party Affairs—an occasionally issued internal publication.

Party Voice—an internal publication of the New York State Communist Party, published monthly in New York.

Some of the Communist front publications which are issued at varying intervals are:

American-Soviet Facts—published irregularly in New York by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

Rights—published monthly in New York by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

The Lamp—published monthly in New York by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Lawyers Guild Review—published quarterly in New York by the National Lawyers Guild.

Facts for Farmers—published monthly in New York by Farm Research, Inc.

Economic Notes—published monthly in New York by the Labor Research Association.

Southern Newsletter—published monthly in Chicago.

In the foreign language field a number of organs which consistently expound the Communist Party line are being published. Among them are:

Russky Golos—Russian daily published in New York City.

Nok Vilaga (Women's World)—Hungarian monthly published in New York City.

Hungarian Word—a weekly published in New York City.

Vilnis—Lithuanian labor daily published in Chicago.

Glos Ludowy—Polish-American weekly published in Detroit.

Narodni Glasnik—Croatian daily newspaper published in Pittsburgh.

Ukrainian Daily News—Ukrainian daily published in New York City.

Morning Freiheit—Yiddish daily published in New York City.

Five unions which have been officially cited as Communist controlled publish papers that carry the party line to about 300,000 of their members. These publications are:

UE News—publication of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, published fortnightly in New York City.

The Dispatcher—publication of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, published fortnightly in San Francisco.

Mine-Mill Union—publication of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, published monthly in Denver, Colo.

ACA News—publication of the American Communications Association, published monthly except August in New York City.

Teacher News—weekly publication of New York Teachers Union.

The Communist Party operates two publishing houses in New York City—International Publishers and New Century Publishers. Its agents control printing shops in cities such as Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles, as well as in New York City, where Communist publications and propaganda literature of various kinds are turned out in quantity. A chain of Communist bookstores scattered throughout the country also serve as propaganda-distributing arms of the party.

A Communist educational institution operates openly in New York City.

In addition to those already named, the Communist Party controls many other front organizations, some national in scope, some local; some permanent in character, some "fly-by-night" organizations set up and operated briefly to exploit a temporary issue.

In the 1958 elections, the Communist Party ran candidates for public office in a number of selected areas, in nearly all cases on the ticket of some "political party" which claimed to be non-Communist.

These items by no means comprise a complete rundown of present open Communist Party operations in the United States, but they are sufficient to prove conclusively that the U.S. Communist Party is still a going organization; that it is not dead or even dormant.

4.

Communist Tactics

Not only the structure of an organization but its flexibility, its readiness to adopt varying tactics to meet changing conditions, is an important factor in weighing its staying power, its relative strength and weakness, and, in the case of a conspiratorial apparatus, the danger it presents.

Lenin warned all Communists that—

The strictest loyalty to the ideas of Communism must be combined with the ability to make all the necessary practical compromises, to "tack," to make agreements, zigzags, retreats, and so on, in order to accelerate the coming into [power].

He also cautioned them that, in varying their tactics, in retreating when necessary, they must never lose sight of their final goal but always work toward it:

In order not to get lost in these zigzags and twists * * * in the periods of retreat, retirement or temporary defeat, or when history, or the enemy, throws us back * * * the important and the only theoretically correct thing is not to cast out the old basic program.

During the latter part of the 1930's and the immediate post-World War II period, the U.S. Communist Party's tactics were those of mass, open agitation and propaganda. The party was much larger than it is now and it tried to make itself appear even larger and more powerful than it was. It had big turnouts for its May Day parades and rallies. Its fronts achieved mass memberships; its clubs and units agitated openly and aggressively in their local areas. Propaganda literature under the name of the party itself was distributed widely.

During the late 1940's many developments contributed to a changed attitude on the part of the American public toward the Communist Party—Moscow's takeover of nations in Eastern Europe, Soviet belligerence and instigation of the cold war, the Communist conquest of China, the testimony of Elizabeth Bentley, Whittaker Chambers and others before this committee, the revelations contained in the Hiss, Remington, and similar cases.

The institution of a Federal security program, the 1949 trial and conviction of the party's top leaders, the expulsion of a dozen Communist-controlled unions from the CIO, the passage of the Internal Security Act and other anti-Communist legislation on Federal, State, and local levels were some of the milestones marking this new viewpoint.

The Korean war, with American troops engaged in actual combat with the Chinese and North Korean Communists, who were openly supported by the U.S. Communist Party, climaxed these developments. Anti-Communist feeling in the United States rose to an all-time high. Many Communists were afraid to appear at any openly Communist affair. Communist fronts lost much of their influence and could neither get large turnouts for their meetings nor sell the party line with the same degree of success they had in the past.

The party (and Moscow) realized then that there would have to be a change in tactics. The old ones would no longer do.

A change in the party's organizational structure had already been made. The usual aboveground section of the party had gone almost completely underground to protect, as far as possible, its leaders and members from the Smith Act prosecutions which had been instituted in late 1948.

This set the stage for the tactical change.

The key problem was this: How could the party, while largely underground to protect its members, avoid losing its ability to perform its most vital function—that of reaching the American public with pro-Communist propaganda?

The party solved it in simple fashion. It continued its largely underground existence only in an organizational or administrative sense—for planning, instruction, meetings, communication of directives, and similar functions. Its individual members, as previously mentioned, were ordered to continue and step up their propaganda and agitation work.

They were to do this by joining mass non-Communist organizations—civic groups such as parent-teacher associations, church groups, foreign-policy organizations, and the like. Posing as non-Communist liberals in these organizations, party members were to promote the party line by stressing “peace” and “civil liberties” propaganda.

There was a twofold objective in the new tactics of relying more on individual infiltrators than on mass activity for promotion of the party line. The party hoped that, even while it was largely underground organizationally and thus enjoying the greatest possible security, it would still be able to assist greatly the foreign-policy objectives of the Soviet Union (“peace”) and, at the same time, create a climate of opinion (“civil liberties”) that would eventually permit the normally aboveground section of the conspiracy to emerge from the underground to a great extent and resume its open activities on a much larger scale.

Years ago, Georgi Dimitrov, secretary general of the Communist International, made the following statement:

As Soviet power grows [as it has tremendously since World War II], there will be a greater aversion to Communist parties everywhere. So we must practice the techniques of withdrawal. Never appear in the foreground; let our friends do the work. * * *

The Communist Party is following this tactic today. More and more, it is endeavoring—and frequently succeeding—in getting non-Communist “friends,” independently and not through front groups, to serve as the major exponents of its propaganda line and thus endow this line with a respectability and acceptance it would never attain under open Communist auspices.

The party's and Moscow's current propaganda emphasis on broad international issues which are matters of deep concern to many non-Communists—the problems of peace, disarmament, radiation from atomic weapons tests—rather than on intense and open agitation on obviously Communist internal questions, helps the party greatly in this work.

It is also using the device of appealing to the selfish interests and special fears—and even moral principles—of various sectors of American society to secure support for its line (alleged huge profits from trade with Red China to promote its recognition by the United States; exaggerated fear of “fallout” to bring an end to U.S. atomic defense preparation; the opposition to violence of any kind that characterizes certain religious and pacifist organizations to promote appeasement). In this way it finds supporters for its positions among many people who have no sympathy for communism as such.

This committee's continuing investigation and study also reveal that the U.S. branch of the world Communist conspiracy is making a deliberate effort to create the impression that it is weak and dying.

The present open offices it maintains, compared in size and number with those of a decade or more ago, are almost insignificant—and mislead many non-Communists into believing that the party is shattered and ineffective. The party's decision to close down the *Daily Worker*—even though it actually had the funds to continue publishing it—was also intended to have the same effect.

It is using the device of temporary resignations from the party to protect its members and to promote the idea that the party has lost many members and that all the congressional investigating committees can therefore do today is find some people who were Communists in the past.

It has been the repeated experience of this committee in recent years, for example, that persons who have been identified as Communist Party members by responsible witnesses under oath, will deny current membership in the Communist Party when called before the committee and interrogated under oath. These same people, however, invoke the fifth amendment when asked about party membership in the immediate past and, more important, often refuse to say if they intend to reaffiliate with the party after the completion of the committee hearing.

Press accounts of such hearings frequently report only that the witness denied membership in the Communist Party. The public is thus given the impression that there are very few Communists to be found anywhere.

The Communist Party did not just sit back and wait for a change in the strongly anti-Communist “climate of opinion” created in this country by the testimony of Louis Budenz, Elizabeth Bentley, Whittaker Chambers, and other witnesses before this committee, by the Hiss, Remington, and Harry Dexter White cases, and by the Korean war and other developments. It is doing all it can to promote

such a change, not only by concentrating on "civil liberties" and "constitutional rights" propaganda and creating an impression of Communist weakness, but also by promoting attacks on the agencies and laws of this country which hamper or expose its conspiratorial and subversive activities. With the help of a number of its fronts, some prominent fellow travelers, secret party members and sympathetic publications, it has launched a continuing propaganda and agitation campaign against the Smith Act, Internal Security Act, and the Immigration and Nationality Act. More recently, it has stimulated attacks on the Federal Bureau of Investigation and promoted a drive to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. This drive is spearheaded by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (a "civil liberties" front formed in 1951 after the party went largely underground), with the support of the National Lawyers Guild, Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms, the Chicago Committee To Preserve Freedom of Speech and the Press, and the Southern California chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The few open offices the Communist Party has maintained have served to create a misleading impression of "openness" and legitimacy on its part.

Hearings held by the committee during the past year revealed that the Communist conspiracy is also carrying on very active (though secret) colonization of key industries. It is dispatching to areas where these industries are concentrated highly educated Communist agents who conceal the fact that they hold one or several college degrees and obtain jobs as mill hands.

The aim of these agents is to gain the confidence of, and sell themselves to, the workers in these industries, to discredit anti-Communist union officials, and to win positions of leadership for themselves so that they will be able to reestablish strong Communist influence in the labor movement. These Communist colonizers also have the mission—if and when the time comes—of impeding the U.S. defense effort by fomenting strikes or by actual sabotage of vital machinery.

If the tactical shifts made by the Communist Party during the last ten years indicate anything, it is strength rather than weakness. Any organization that can so readily and cleverly adjust itself to changed, adverse conditions is a force to be reckoned with.

5.

The U.S. Party—Part of Powerful World Movement

There is obviously a great difference between the power of a relatively small national organization which is a completely independent, lone entity and one which is an integral part of an international organization of tremendous strength.

If the U.S. Communist Party stood alone, it would represent no more than a fraction of the danger it presents to this country at all times because of the fact that it is a part of the worldwide Communist movement. As such, the U.S. Communist Party not only takes orders from the Kremlin, but also derives strength and receives assistance in various forms from the Soviet Union, Red China, the

satellite nations, and the Communist parties of other non-Communist nations.

The flood of foreign propaganda that inundates the United States each year is just one example of how the U.S. Communist Party is helped by Moscow and other Communist capitals. Scores of publications in many different languages flow into the United States day after day to bolster the line and the claims of the U.S. Communist Party and to help it attain its objectives.

The latest available statistics indicate that during the year 1958 alone, an estimated 10 million separate pieces of Communist propaganda material arrived in this country from Soviet-bloc nations and were distributed through the U.S. mails, in part at the expense of American taxpayers. None of this material was labeled as Communist political propaganda, as required by the Foreign Agents Registration Act. During recent years, too, an increasing quantity of Communist propaganda material has been entering this country, not directly from the Soviet bloc but from Communist agencies in friendly countries such as Canada.

In addition, a very large amount of such material is sent to this country each year as first-class mail (there is no way of determining the exact quantity because mail of this type cannot be checked).

In the most important of all phases of Communist Party activity—propaganda warfare—the U.S. Communist Party also receives regular assistance from Soviet and other Iron Curtain diplomats who are stationed here and from high-ranking Communist officials who are permitted to visit this country.

The U.S. Communist Party owes much to Ambassador Menshikov for the slick, Communist-serving propaganda speeches he has made before various American organizations and on radio and TV programs. Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan, who recently visited the United States, contributed yeoman propaganda service to the U.S. Communist Party, as well as to the Kremlin.

The committee recently published a report, "Patterns of Communist Espionage," which reveals how Communist diplomats stationed in this country help local Communist operations in another way—by recruiting spies for the Communist espionage apparatus here and by using blackmail and terror to silence some anti-Communist voices.

In the committee's view, the U.S. Communist Party's tieup with the world Communist movement dominated by the masters of the Kremlin has always been one of the chief sources of its strength.

6.

Attitude of Non-Communists Toward the Party

A final and important consideration in analyzing Communist strength—and therefore the danger of communism—is the attitude of the non-Communist population toward the conspiracy and the Soviet Union which controls it.

If the Communist organization is a small minority and the great non-Communist majority of any nation is well informed about its nature, strategy, and tactics, the Communist Party just cannot flourish. It is then like a plant that needs rich soil to grow in, but is

placed in dry, sandy soil that provides it little nourishment. It will never be strong. It will often wither and die.

Just the opposite is true, however—even when the party is very small—if the non-Communist population is not well informed about it and, most important of all, if it is apathetic, indifferent, and weak in its opposition to the party and its bosses in the Kremlin. The conspiracy then has favorable soil in which to grow—and many Communist parties (including that of the United States) have demonstrated remarkable ability to expand rapidly in numbers and influence under such conditions. They then become a serious threat.

The committee is concerned about the apathy, indifference, and softened attitude toward the Communist Party on the part of the American public which has become apparent in the last few years. This attitude has attained such proportions that a number of high Government and security officials, who know the danger facing the Nation and see the need for continuing strong opposition to communism in all walks of life, have felt compelled to speak out and try to reverse an obviously dangerous trend.

The committee firmly believes that there is no justification for apathy today and that its continuation or increase poses a serious threat to our defense against communism, both at home and abroad. It provides opportunities for internal Communist Party expansion and for further successful Soviet aggression against the free world. J. Edgar Hoover has recently pointed out how dangerous such indifference can be in view of Communist power and aims:

Public apathy is the sure way to national suicide—to death of individual freedom. It allowed the Communists to penetrate and make satellites of once-free countries, and it is presently enabling them to honeycomb and weaken the structures of the remaining countries, and there is today a terrifying apathy on the part of Americans toward the deadliest danger which this country has ever faced. Some of that apathy is deliberately induced. Those who try to minimize its danger are either uninformed or they have a deadly ax to grind.

SUMMARY

The committee believes that the Communist Party is still a serious danger to this country for the following reasons:

(1) Communist strength and influence—and therefore the danger it poses to any country at a given time—cannot be judged only by the membership of the party. For this reason, the U.S. Communist Party's relatively small numbers today do not mean that it is not a serious threat.

(2) The U.S. Communist Party, though smaller than in the past, is made up of hard-core revolutionaries who have been tested by time and adversity. As such it has greater discipline, unity of purpose, and drive than a large, loosely knit organization. It also has much greater internal security and better protection against exposure and prosecution than it had in the past.

(3) The Communist system of organization—its division into underground and aboveground sections, with many members of the underground apparatus engaging in secret infiltration activity

while the aboveground carries on a certain amount of open agitation and propaganda—permits it to make the most effective use of its power and achieve much more in the way of positive results than a legitimate organization of similar size.

(4) The Communist Party has demonstrated great ability from a tactical standpoint to adapt itself to changed conditions so as to suffer the least possible damage and, even while largely underground, to wield considerable influence on great numbers of non-Communist Americans.

(5) The U.S. Communist Party has behind it the power and influence of the world Communist conspiracy. It does not stand alone.

(6) The attitude of the American people of late has tended to be one of apathy, rather than of aggressive opposition to the Communist Party. This provides the conspiracy with favorable conditions for regaining the power it formerly possessed.

The eight years that Armando Penha spent in the Communist Party as an informant for the FBI (1950–58) covered the period that saw a large drop in technical Communist Party membership. During these years, Penha held key leadership posts on the State and regional level and served on one of the conspiracy's national commissions. Because of this, he had excellent opportunity to observe Communist morale, strategy, tactics, and effectiveness on all levels. He saw how the party reacted to the most unfavorable conditions it has had to operate under in the last 35 years or so. In his appearance before this committee in Atlanta in July 1958, the following exchange took place between Mr. Penha and the committee:

Q. * * * Mr. Penha, on the basis of your extensive background and experience, please tell this committee how serious is the Communist operation in the United States right now.

Mr. PENHA. Based upon my experiences, it is rather unfortunate for me to report—but fortunate in order to alert the people of the United States—that the Communist Party in this country is by and large a greater menace today than it has ever been in the past.

Q. Would you kindly explain why you have reached that conclusion after your 8 years in the Communist Party as an undercover agent of the FBI.

Mr. PENHA. Well, sir, shortly after I entered the Communist Party, the Communist Party reevaluated its entire policy; and, in order to carry out its aims, it realized that the most important thing for it to do was to go completely underground, with only a small group that would exist in the upper level for propaganda purposes.

In connection with this, the party, by going underground, has been a party of hard-core, zealous, dedicated Communists, who have been trained for the ultimate purpose of the overthrow of this Government. Its techniques have adopted both legal and illegal methods of operations, both open and concealed methods, and above all, at all times, to go in accordance with the wishes of the Kremlin.

During the year 1958, 108 witnesses testified before this committee in public session and more than one-half that number in executive session. On the basis of the testimony of these people and the committee's own continuing investigation and research into current Communist operations, it is the committee's conviction that Mr. Penha made a far more realistic judgment concerning the danger presented to this country by the Communist Party than have those persons who, without his firsthand experience and without deep study of the question, have claimed that the Communist Party is finished and is no longer a serious danger to the United States.

CHAPTER II

HEARINGS

GARY, IND.

*"It is necessary * * * to agree to any and every sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to all sorts of devices, manoeuvres, and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge, in order to penetrate into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs."*

This Leninist policy is being followed by Communists today in their effort to infiltrate and control labor unions, according to the testimony of Mr. John Lautner during hearings held in Gary, Ind., on February 10 and 11, 1958, by the Committee on Un-American Activities.¹

The committee, continuing its investigation of Communist techniques and tactics of infiltration and the extent, character, and objects of Communist Party propaganda activities in basic industry, obtained significant information from Mr. Lautner, an active Communist Party member for more than 20 years before his expulsion from the party in 1950. He held many important positions of leadership, including section organizer of the Communist Party in New York City for a number of years, district organizer of the Communist Party in West Virginia for 5 years, member of the Nationality Commission of the Communist Party, member of the National Review Commission of the Communist Party (its disciplinary body), and chairman of the Review Commission for the State of New York.

Mr. Lautner testified that employees in basic industry constitute the "decisive sections of the working class without which the Communist Party cannot realize its fundamental objective" of bringing about a complete change in our society.

Mr. Lautner's testimony further revealed a formula used by the Communist Party in its efforts to gain control of the American labor movement and win the workers to its side. The plan, he said, began as far back as 1932 when it was decided to concentrate first on basic industry, such as steel. Key factories and shops were the next step, and from there the plan evolved to key departments within the factories and key people within the departments. By 1948 between 400 and 500 industrial branches were established throughout the country by the Communist Party.

In the late 1940's, when the CIO was in the process of expelling Communist-controlled unions from its ranks, and many unions were ridding themselves of Communist officers, the power of the Communist Party to exert influence over large masses of American laborers as well as over industry itself was threatened.

In a frantic effort to build its power within the American labor movement, the Communist Party at this time adopted a policy of "colonization" whereby the party instructed its members, including intellectuals and white-collar workers, to migrate to certain industrial areas and obtain employment in specific industries for the purpose of building party units within that industry.

¹ See "Investigation of Communist Infiltration and Propaganda Activities in Basic Industry (Gary, Ind. Area)," hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, Feb. 10 and 11, 1958.

Describing this renewed and concentrated effort by the Communists, Mr. Lautner testified that a number of classes for "colonizer" members of the Communist Party were organized by J. Peters, for many years top leader of the underground apparatus of the Communist Party.

The classes were composed of young men from colleges and universities who were convinced—

that a so-called bourgeois education and diploma have no future; that there is a better future for a bright and alert and, at the same time, loyal and devoted young party person to go into basic industry and come up with the grassroots and, in the course of a few years, become the leader of a large segment of workers in basic industries.

Mr. Lautner's close association with Peters afforded him the opportunity to discuss the party plans for colonization and to observe how Peters prepared his curriculum and material for presentation in the colonization classes. The witness testified that the boys in these classes "after graduation uprooted themselves, and they became professional revolutionaries." They were loyal and devoted to the Communist cause and to the Communist Party, and would leave their homes at any time to go anywhere the party assigned them.

The Communists are still pursuing their colonization program. Since a college education would be a liability to a man working in a mill, or on an assembly line, it is necessary for the "colonizer" to conceal the fact that he has a college background. The committee produced documentary evidence in several instances to show how this has become a common practice in the Communist attempt to infiltrate basic industry.

The danger this situation presents is by no means minimal, for in the event of a national emergency these colonizers, because of their key positions and concealed capacities, would be able to commit sabotage. A trained Communist, by a flip of a switch or the pull of a lever, could disrupt the work of thousands.

Communists also seek to enhance the party's position in labor by discrediting anti-Communist union leadership and creating dissension within non-Communist unions so that, at the very least, individuals who will tolerate Communist activities in the labor movement will again be selected for union leadership.

INFILTRATION OF STEEL INDUSTRY

Another witness whose testimony provided the committee with valuable information on the work of the Communist Party in establishing Communist units within the steel industry was Joseph E. LaFleur. Mr. LaFleur, a former undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was active in the Communist Party for 10 years, but left it in 1952 when he realized that he was suspected of being a Government agent by the party leadership.

Mr. LaFleur testified that Howard Lawrence, at one time section organizer of the Communist Party in Gary, repeatedly emphasized the importance of organizing the men within the steel union. To "make these members Communists" was the primary objective and every effort was to be directed toward its achievement.

In the late 1940's a group of young Communists "from colleges in the East" migrated to the Gary area. According to the testimony

of Mr. LaFleur, these men immediately identified themselves to local party leaders and were instructed to work on the mill units.

Concealing the fact that they had college backgrounds and that they were militant Communists, these men applied for and received employment in the steel industry.

A Communist functionary known by the witness to have aided substantially in the steel units is Katherine Hyndman. Committee records reveal that Mrs. Hyndman was arrested on a deportation charge on January 5, 1949, and that a final order of deportation to Yugoslavia was issued on January 29, 1953. Yugoslavia, however, refused to accept her, and she is still a resident of this country. LaFleur testified that she was actively engaged in Communist activities even after her arrest and that she was still an active organizer in Gary when he left the party in 1952.

In the course of his testimony LaFleur identified 32 persons known to him as members of the Communist Party in Gary. Twelve of these were called as witnesses during the hearings. Of these, eight refused to answer material questions relating to Communist Party activities within the steel industry. Two of these witnesses admitted being former members of the Communist Party. Witnesses Willard Malis and Lazo Rebraca denied that they had ever been Communist Party members.

Edward Yellin, whom Mr. LaFleur identified as a member of the Communist Party, was confronted with his application for employment in a steel plant which concealed information that he had attended the City College of New York and the University of Michigan.

Mr. Yellin was asked if he was following Communist Party instructions when he applied for employment. He refused to answer. The witness also refused to answer any questions concerning the Communist plan to colonize basic industry with young men who were loyal and devoted to the Communist cause. He further refused to answer questions relating to his place of residence prior to August 1957, his formal education, his record of employment, or his membership in the Communist Party at the time he applied for employment. In refusing to answer, Mr. Yellin did not rely on the self-incrimination clause of the fifth amendment, but asserted a claim that he was not required to answer by reason of the provisions of the first amendment.²

Robert Lehrer, a graduate of Rutgers University and an employee in the steel industry in Gary, was also identified as a member of the Communist Party by Mr. LaFleur. Mr. Lehrer was summoned by the Committee on Un-American Activities to appear at the hearings in Gary during the investigation of Communist infiltration in basic industry, but refused to answer any questions asked of him by the committee concerning his education and his record of employment, Communist Party activities within basic industry, or his own Communist Party membership.

Lehrer was confronted with photostatic copies of his college records, and of his application for employment to a steel plant which omitted any reference to his college background or the fact that he held an A.B. degree. He refused to testify concerning either of them.²

² Contempt proceedings have been instituted against Edward Yellin and Robert Lehrer, both of whom refused to answer material questions on the basis of the first amendment and the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in the *Watkins* and *Sweezy* cases.

Two other witnesses at the Gary hearings who were identified as Communists have also been cited for contempt of Congress: Alfred James Samter, who based his refusal to answer on substantially the same grounds as those relied upon by Yellin and Lehrer, and Victor Malis, who relied upon the first amendment in refusing to answer.

NEW ENGLAND

The techniques being employed at this very moment by American agents of the Kremlin in the New England area, were revealed in grim detail during hearings of the committee held in Boston, Mass., March 18-21, 1958.³

At the time Armando Penha took the witness stand in the course of these committee hearings, he was still a trusted officer of the Communist Party on both a national and New England area level. The copious facts which this witness then proceeded to put into the public record regarding the present organizational structure, strategy, and membership of the Communist conspiracy—from the party's top national councils down to its underground apparatus—abruptly ended his career in the Communist Party. But for the first time the public could appreciate the outstanding service which this witness had rendered his country by serving as a Federal Bureau of Investigation undercover agent within the Communist Party for 8 years.

Mr. Penha discussed with authority the inner workings of the higher echelon of the Communist conspiracy as a result of holding such party offices as member of the National Textile Commission of the Communist Party of the United States; member of the New England District Committee and attendant at meetings of the New England District Metals Commission; section organizer for the party in the New Bedford, Mass., area; chairman of the Bristol County, Mass., Communist Party; and chairman of a Regional Section Organizers Committee.

Assessing the seriousness of the Communist Party threat today, Mr. Penha declared:

Based on my experiences, I feel—and I am sure that I am absolutely correct—that the Communist conspiracy, by and large today, is much stronger than it has ever been. * * * The party has strengthened itself every time that it weeds out weaklings, those that they suspect, those who do not accept the party discipline, and as such it becomes stronger.

During the 8 years that he was in the Communist Party, Mr. Penha had known approximately 400 members of the party. Of this number, between 285 and 315 operated in the New England area. In the course of his testimony, Penha identified by name over 200 Communist Party members he had personally known, including top-flight functionaries of the National Committee of the Communist Party.

PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

In connection with the current organizational structure of the party, he testified:

The Communist apparatus is established with the National Committee as being the top functional body.

In the National Committee level, there are also various types of national groups. You have your National Executive Committee, you have National Commissions, various departments. In all I would say there are about eight or nine.

³ See "Investigation of Communist Activities in the New England Area," pts. 1-3, hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, Mar. 14, 18-21, 1958.

From there it drops down to the district level, New England being the District No. 1. New England encompasses the areas of Vermont, Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts.

From the district level, it drops down to county level if they exist. At times they do not. From there it drops down to section levels, known as cities and its suburban areas. From there it drops down to clubs or cells. These are small groups. They comprise membership in specific areas, particularly in organizations. From that it drops down to neighborhood groups or neighborhood clubs. From that it goes into individuals who, for one reason or another, should not be placed in clubs and/or cells.

The National Textile Commission of the Communist Party, of which Mr. Penha was a member, was established by the National Committee of the Communist Party in 1955. The purpose of the Textile Commission was to direct further colonization and infiltration by the Communist Party into the textile industry, particularly in the South. The North was to contribute experienced colonizers and money. In connection with this endeavor, Mr. Penha took a trip to the South where he was in contact with top Communist Party leaders and colonizers, particularly in North Carolina, a center of the textile industry in the South. The technique of colonization, according to Mr. Penha, is being applied by the party in all types of major industry.

Mr. Penha, who was in active contact with the Communist underground, described the stringent security measures exercised in the underground operation. Some members completely divorced themselves from the open apparatus of the party and, in most instances, completely separated themselves from their families. They assumed false identities and used various devices to alter their physical appearance. They lived in the homes of trusted party members and all contact with the open apparatus was handled through couriers.

COMMUNIST FRONTS

A detailed summary of current or recent Communist-front operations in the New England area was also obtained by the committee in the course of the hearings.

In New England, as in other parts of the country, front organizations, which are either set up by the Communist Party or infiltrated and eventually controlled by it, sought to lure non-Communists into propaganda activities and fund collection campaigns on behalf of the Communist cause. The names of these organizations were deliberately selected to conceal their true Communist nature.

Typical of front organizations active in the New England area were the New England Citizens Concerned for Peace, the Massachusetts Committee for the Bill of Rights, the New Bedford Peace Committee, and the New Bedford Committee To Fight Unemployment.

The chief aim of the New England Citizens Concerned for Peace was to assist in a Communist campaign to build up pressures on Congress against universal military training legislation, according to the undercover observations of Armando Penha. In its efforts to weaken American resistance to Communist aggression in Korea, the organization took advantage of every opportunity to "undermine and harass our public officials in the Government at large," Mr. Penha testified.

The witness identified as Communists active in the organization Florence Tamsky, Mary Figueirido, Frances Hood, and Jean Bellefeuille, among others.

Mrs. Muriel Gravelle McAvoy, who was a top functionary of the Communist Party of New Hampshire according to another Federal Bureau of Investigation undercover agent, Carol Foster, has served as executive secretary of the New England Citizens Concerned for Peace. Mrs. McAvoy was called as a witness in the course of the New England hearings but refused to answer questions regarding her activities in either the Communist Party or the front organization.

The Massachusetts Committee for the Bill of Rights, Mr. Penha testified—

was established for only one purpose, and that was to put all the pressure within its command, of the Communist conspiracy, to do away with the State Sedition Law, which I believe was passed in 1919 in Massachusetts, the 1951 law which outlawed the party in Massachusetts, the Smith Act, the McCarran Act, and Immigration Acts * * * everything, in other words, that was anti-Communist, in order to preserve the legal status of the party.

Mr. Penha named Nathaniel Mills and Florence Luscomb as among Communists instrumental in the management of this front organization.

Mr. Penha himself was assigned by the Communist Party to the task of supervising the New Bedford Peace Committee. "My job was to see that the New Bedford Peace Committee did promote war, not peace," he said, and identified Rozlyn Fishman as a key Communist member of the organization.

He was also present at conferences held by Communist officials for the purpose of setting up the New Bedford Committee To Fight Unemployment. "Ironically," Mr. Penha testified, "it started off as such a committee for unemployment, but where the party saw it was not getting too effective, we switched it over to the New Bedford Surplus Committee * * * sort of a subcommittee." Communists responsible for supervising the front organization, according to the witness, were Douglas Perry, Roy Rogerson, and Olga Garczynski.

The former undercover agent also described the activities of local chapters of a number of national front organizations which have been the subject of extensive investigation and hearings by this committee in previous years. For example, New England residents were subject to Communist pressures from local units of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, the Save Our Sons Committee, and the Progressive Party.

PARTY FINANCES

Mr. Penha testified that the revenue of the Communist Party is derived from many and varied sources, including:

- (a) Dues based on earnings.
- (b) Assessments, also based on earnings.
- (c) Financial "angels" who may or may not be actual party members, but who contribute to the party causes. Penha cited as an example one Maud D'haze, deceased, who left an estate of

approximately \$20,000. This estate was not left to the Communist Party per se, but to the leaders of the Communist Party in the New England area, with the understanding that the money would be directed ultimately into the coffers of the Communist Party. Penha identified D'haze and all of the beneficiaries as members of the Communist Party. Two of the beneficiaries, Aune Burlak Timpson and Otis Archer Hood, both leaders of the Communist Party in New England, were called as witnesses and interrogated concerning the distribution of the D'haze estate. Both invoked their constitutional privileges against self-incrimination.

(d) Sale of various items. Penha cited as an example the sale of pen and pencil sets, 1,000 of which were sold by comrades within the New England district, with the proceeds directed into the party treasury.

(e) Solicitation of funds through front groups which are created or infiltrated and controlled by the party, but which bear no open association with the party. Such funds ultimately are lodged in the party treasury.

(f) Labor organizations controlled by the Communist Party. Cited as an example was the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers in the New Bedford area.

In 1952, while accompanying the New England district Communist organizer, Mike Russo, who was then operating in the background, Mr. Penha was present in a secret meeting with Jonathan and David Lubell, then students at Harvard University. The Lubells were Communist organizers among the students at various institutions of higher education in the Boston area. They turned over \$150 which they had collected in dues from the students at these institutions.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITY IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

Another person who contributed materially to the committee's work in Boston was Mrs. Carol Foster of Nashua, N.H. Like Mr. Penha, Mrs. Foster had been an undercover operative for the FBI. She had been active in the party since 1947. Her principal area of activity was in the State of New Hampshire. She had held the office of secretary of the Nashua group of the Communist Party and was a member of the New Hampshire State Committee, which was a part of District 1 of the Communist Party, and encompassed most of New England.

Mrs. Foster confirmed Mr. Penha's testimony that the Communist Party posed a serious threat to our country today. She identified several score individuals as Communist Party members in the New England area.

Two of the persons she identified as members of the Communist Party were Rev. Albert D'Orlando and his wife, Polly. Mr. D'Orlando had been a minister of a church in Wilton, N.H., from approximately 1946 to 1950. Mrs. Foster testified that she was introduced to Mr. D'Orlando by the Communist Party chairman of New Hampshire, Mrs. Elba Chase Nelson. For a period of several years she collected the Communist Party dues of Mr. D'Orlando and his wife.

The Reverend Mr. D'Orlando, who now resides in New Orleans, La., appeared before the committee in executive session on March 14, 1958. When asked about his previous Communist Party membership, he

invoked his constitutional privileges concerning the period prior to 1946. He denied membership subsequent to that date, but admitted that he had contributed money to the Communist Party during the time he was a minister in Wilton, N.H.

Mrs. Foster also furnished valuable information concerning the operation of Communist-front groups, particularly the Progressive Party which, during its period of operation in New Hampshire, was completely controlled by the Communist Party.

Hon. Louis C. Wyman, attorney general of the State of New Hampshire, testified extensively concerning various sections of H.R. 9937, the omnibus security bill pending before the committee.

OTHER WITNESSES

In addition to the persons indicated above who cooperated with the committee, 29 other persons were called as witnesses. These persons had been identified under oath as members of the Communist Party and, in most instances, were leaders of the Communist Party in the New England area. Their employment covered a variety of occupations and professions. Two of the witnesses, David M. Fein and Elias Snitzer, were professors at the Lowell Technological Institute. Mr. Fein denied current Communist Party membership, but invoked the privileges of the fifth amendment concerning prior membership. Mr. Snitzer likewise denied current Communist Party membership, but refused to give the committee any information when questioned concerning prior membership and activities in the Communist Party.

Douglas Perry, UE organizer in the New England area, who had been identified by Mr. Penha as a hard-core Communist Party member, invoked constitutional privileges against self-incrimination when questioned concerning the validity of Penha's testimony.

Joseph Sherman and Benning Maskiewicz testified that they were not citizens of the United States and refused to state whether or not they were members of the Communist Party. Mr. Maskiewicz has been a resident of the United States for 46 years; Mr. Sherman for 36 years. The subcommittee recommended that both cases be referred to the Immigration and Naturalization Service for possible deportation.

Of the remaining witnesses, all invoked the fifth amendment, with the exception of three. Two of these admitted Communist Party membership, while the third invoked the first amendment and refused to answer questions.

In concluding the hearings, Hon. Morgan M. Moulder of Missouri, chairman of the subcommittee, stated in part as follows:

In the few days that we have been here, we believe we have had a fair sampling of several phases of Communist subversive operations, especially in this area. * * *

In the first place, we have seen repetition here in the Boston, New England area, of a pattern of Communist activities and techniques which verifies and confirms the very same pattern of secret and habitually deceitful and subversive activities and tactics throughout our Nation.

We also have brought forth reliable evidence proving that there is in this highly sensitive and important industrial area a Communist Party activity which should be paid more atten-

tion by the public officials, both municipal and statewide, in cooperation with the Federal officials. * * *

And we wish to emphasize that this Communist subversive activity right here in the New England area and throughout our Nation is part of the cold war—it is not just merely propaganda—it is part of the cold war. There are no bullets being fired, but it is war nevertheless.

There has also been revealed further reliable factual Communist underground strategy and tactics penetrating entirely legitimate and loyal organizations, church groups, labor groups, youth groups, schools, lodges, and public offices.

There has also been revealed further definite information respecting efforts of the Communist conspiracy to penetrate certain vital industries by way of colonizing by Communists, many of whom hold high degrees in education, bachelors of science and engineers; and yet, fulfilling their Communist Party dedication, they take menial jobs, at far less salaries in sensitive industry in order to carry out Communist Party directives, than they could earn at the profession for which they are especially equipped and trained.

We will take back to Washington for consideration by the Congress all the factual material here gained in connection with our study and consideration for the enactment of legislation.

There is, however, a collateral result, which is very valuable and continuing, as a result of these hearings, which I believe will have a salutary and important effect on this entire geographical area. This should be a daily reminder for you folks who have the pleasure, privilege, and inspiration of living in this area, of the continuous Communist Party subversive threat, both day and night, not merely as a philosophical concept, but as a menacing dynamic force of intrigue and subversion, operating as part of the Soviet cold war against the American way of life, which was, in fact, born right here within a mile of this building.

NEW YORK CITY AREA (ENTERTAINMENT)

Communist infiltration of cultural and entertainment media in America has resulted in tremendous propaganda and financial benefits to the Communist conspiracy, hearings by the committee have disclosed.

The Communist Party for many years has relentlessly, through its membership, waged a campaign of penetration aimed at exploitation of the entertainment industry. How this has been accomplished and to what extent has been the subject of a continuing series of hearings by the committee.

The Committee on Un-American Activities has repeatedly pointed out that its investigations and hearings are not directed against any particular occupation as such, but rather are concerned with the activities of individual Communists delegated by the Communist Party to infiltrate a given field. During hearings in New York on

June 18 and 19, 1958,⁴ the committee reiterated its policy in this connection and clearly outlined the scope of the inquiry as follows:

One of the phases of the work of the Committee on Un-American Activities deals with Communists who have penetrated the entertainment industry and who have used people in the entertainment industry for the purpose of promoting Communist fronts in the furtherance of the foreign policy not of the United States but of the Soviet Union, who have collected money from prominent persons in the entertainment industry to be used to finance Communist operations in the United States.

The hearings were the latest in a series of four hearings conducted by the committee in New York City with a view to determining the extent to which the Communist Party has succeeded in its objective of subverting the entertainment industry. As in earlier hearings, the committee sought to elicit information from witnesses who were in a position to testify on Communist influence and activities in the entertainment field. Such information would greatly aid the committee in its consideration of legislation pending before it.

THE PARTY'S CULTURAL DIVISION

The committee called as a witness John Lautner, a former Communist who was expelled by the party in 1950 after serving as a Communist Party functionary since 1929. From his knowledge of the Communist Party structure and organization, Mr. Lautner stated that there existed within the New York State organization a sub-organization called the Cultural Division, whose purpose it was "to carry out the general policies of the party in the field of culture * * * to raise finances for the party." He described the Cultural Division as a highly secret group, and said that security measures were taken to keep it so. He stated further—

First of all, members of the Cultural Division are members of the Communist Party as such. The only special consideration that they do receive is one of security, one of concealing their identity as party members and the reason for that is a very simple one.

If a party member in any of the cultural activities, whether it be theater or television or radio or movie or whatever it is, if his identity would be known as a party member, his effectiveness to do Communist work would be practically nil. Therefore, concealing party membership adds so much more to the effectiveness of that individual in carrying out Communist Party work.

But he is a party member and he must carry out the policies of the party. The party policies—tactical policies today—are very closely linked with that of the tactical policies of all Communist Parties, whether it be in the United States or wherever else.

A total of 18 individuals, presently or recently employed in the cultural and entertainment field in the New York area, were sum-

⁴ See "Communism in the New York Area (Entertainment)," hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, June 18 and 19, 1958; May 8, 1958; and Apr. 1, 1957.

moned as witnesses but refused to respond to committee questions regarding Communist activities with which they had been identified. Sixteen of these invoked the fifth amendment to the Constitution, one invoked the first amendment, and one declined to reply to questions, basing his refusal on the recent Watkins decision of the Supreme Court.

WITNESSES VILIFY COMMITTEE

As the committee questioned these uncooperative witnesses it was struck by the agility with which they protected the Communist conspiracy and the identity of its members. They were more concerned with vilifying the committee than with providing the Congress with the sort of information which would be of help in enacting legislation vital to the security of the Nation. They injected into the hearings statements designed to arouse sympathy for themselves as persecuted martyrs, attempted to becloud the real issues, and made unfounded statements in their efforts to discredit this committee. By indirection, however, they unwittingly supplied the committee with valuable information.

Among the witnesses called was William Lazar, who was given an opportunity to affirm or deny testimony identifying him as a leader in the Communist efforts to exploit American cultural and entertainment media. While testifying under oath, Mr. Lautner identified Lazar as William Lawrence who, to his knowledge, held several positions of leadership in the New York State Communist Party organization, who served as general manager of the Communist Daily Worker for a period, and who was assigned to work in Communist front organizations. Lazar was questioned concerning the truth of Lautner's testimony, but refused to answer, basing his refusal on the fifth amendment. He also invoked the fifth amendment in declining to state whether he was officially connected with the Cultural Division of the Communist Party, and if he had been active in the development of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, an organization cited as a Communist front. Furthermore, he refused to enlighten the committee on Communist activities within the entertainment industry.

A typical example of the contemptuous attitude of many of the witnesses was provided in the testimony of Paul Mann (Yisroel Paul Mann Libman). He managed to read in a loud and violent voice a lengthy statement in which he distorted the true purposes of the committee's investigation and hearings and berated the committee in general. Here are some of his remarks:

* * * You want your standards to determine who shall be permitted to act, direct, sing, dance, and play music in the American theater—even to dictate policy on plays and productions.

Whoever disagrees with you or does not conform to your way of thinking is blacklisted, deprived of his livelihood, smeared and publicly inquisitioned, or threatened. * * *

* * * As a member of the American theater I need no seal of approval from this committee. * * *

I refuse to permit the standards and political views of this committee (composed of politicians elected for a temporary term) to supplant the Constitution of the United States and

its Bill of Rights, and to hack away at the culture of my country.

The Honorable Gordon H. Scherer, a member of the committee, in reply to Mann's remarks stated:

I think the printed record will not disclose the attitude of the witness during the time that he made this tirade against the committee. I would like the record to show he was highly contemptuous of the committee in his manner, in his voice at the time he made that statement, reaching the point where he frothed at the mouth.

Paul Mann, by his own testimony, is an actor, director, and teacher of acting by occupation and, according to committee information, an identified Communist Party member. He was in a position to testify regarding Communist infiltration of the entertainment industry. However, even when the committee questioned him about his present employment, he refused to answer. He was asked if he was a member of the Communist Party and if he was the owner of the Actors Workshop in New York. In each instance he invoked the fifth amendment and declined to answer. Similar answers were made to questions as to whether he was a Communist when naturalized in 1945 or when he made application for a passport in 1950.

ENTERTAINMENT FIGURES WHO TESTIFIED

Among the witnesses who invoked the fifth amendment and refused to testify concerning Communist Party affiliations were:

Bernard Gersten, who stated he was stage manager for the past year at the American Shakespeare Festival in Stratford, Conn. However, he refused to say where he was employed immediately prior to his present employment.

Earl Jones, actor, who also refused to name plays in which he had appeared. He also declined to state if he had in the last several years knowingly and consciously lent his name, influence, and prestige as an actor to Communist causes.

Will Lee (William Lubovsky), an actor, director, and teacher of acting, who stated he had been employed as a teacher of acting "on and off for over 5 years" with the American Theater Wing school.

Carroll Hollister, a musician who teaches and coaches singers, stated he was on the faculty of the Metropolitan Music School, which the committee cited in 1957 as a Communist front organization.

Adelaide Klein (Annenberg), an actress who is listed in committee records as having been a member of the board of directors and advisory council of the Peoples Radio Foundation. The foundation has been cited by the Attorney General as a Communist front.

Arthur Lief, a musician who was the American conductor for the Russian Moiseyev Ballet dance group when it toured the United States recently. He has also been guest conductor for the Royale Ballet of England.

Richard Sasuly, a writer, would not state where he was presently employed. According to committee records, he is writing under the name of Alex Furth as a propagandist for the Communist Party. He refused to discuss his association with Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, identified by Elizabeth Bentley as an espionage agent.

Leon Portnoy, self-employed music teacher who declined to say if he has been known by any other name, or if he is director of the Parkway Music School Institute.

Ben Steinberg, a musician, stated he had participated in the selection of musicians for a number of Broadway shows. He described himself as an "outside contractor." Unlike other witnesses, Steinberg cited the Watkins decision, and not the fifth amendment, as the reason for refusing to discuss Communist Party affiliation.

Paul Villard, a musician and singer, declined to say where or when he was last employed, and if he had signed a petition for the New York Communist Party.

Horace Grenell refused to state what his occupation was. However, committee records indicate that he had been president of Young People's Records and is currently associated with Abbey Record Manufacturing Co., Inc.

Irwin Silber, who described himself as a writer, editor, and publicist. It was brought out during the hearings that he contributes a considerable amount of propaganda to Communist publications. Silber was the only witness who invoked solely the first amendment in refusing to answer committee questions with respect to Communist Party membership.

It should be noted that, in most instances, the groups which employed witnesses appearing at the hearings were unaware of their subversive backgrounds. This does not imply that employers are unconcerned with the problem of Communist infiltration, nor does it imply that they made no effort to check on the background of employees. Obviously, private industry is not equipped to uncover the operations of the Communist underground.

THE SOUTH

Since the exodus of a number of industries from the North to the South, the Communist Party, recognizing the potentials in this shift, has been making a concerted effort to infiltrate this fast-growing industrial area of our country. The textile industry has become a special target of the Communists, who are assigning "colonizers," propagandists, and agitators to the area in order to further the party's aim to build its membership in the South.

Hearings held in Atlanta, Ga., on July 29, 30, and 31, 1958,⁵ very clearly revealed methods used and the extent to which the party's plans for the South are being carried out. Armando Penha, a former undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was particularly qualified to furnish the committee with the Communist conspiracy's plans and tactics in the South and other areas by virtue of his very recent work within the Communist Party.

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF TEXTILE INDUSTRY

During the period from early 1950 until the spring of 1958, Mr. Penha attained important positions of party leadership both in his native New England and on the national level. One of the most important of these was his membership on the National Textile Commission which the party set up in 1955, and on which he served until

⁵ See "Communist Infiltration and Activities in the South," hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, July 29, 30, and 31, 1958.

he completed his FBI assignment in 1958. Mr. Penha described the Commission as follows:

The National Textile Commission is a leading body, nationally, that is set up for the purpose of controlling, coordinating, and supervising the infiltration and colonization within the textile industry, particularly in the South.

During the Atlanta hearings and in other hearings at which he testified, Mr. Penha also pointed out the following with respect to the National Textile Commission:

(1) It is composed of five members. Through one of its members it has direct contact with, and operates by the order of, the party's National Committee in New York. Two of its members were "colonizers" within the textile industry, although they were not genuine textile workers.

(2) It is a highly secret group. Its members have code names, and their true identity is not supposed to be known, even to one another. Extreme security precautions are exercised in conducting its meetings.

(3) The Commission provides "colonizers" from the North to infiltrate the comparatively virgin industrial territory of the South. These colonizers secure low-level jobs in order to come in contact with the rank-and-file worker. Many conceal the fact that they are highly educated, often holding a bachelor's, master's, or even a doctor's degree. (It is significant that they are willing to sacrifice years of formal education in order to serve the party.)

(4) The Commission provides the necessary funds to carry out the party's plans for the South.

THE TECHNIQUES OF A "COLONIZER"

Mr. Penha described a "colonizer" as—

* * * one that is directed by the Communist Party to teach and spread propaganda in order to cultivate the mass workers within a plant or industry or legitimate organization. He must use, in his tactics, methods of spreading confusion, agitation. Such attacks are to be made both legally and illegally. He has to be able to cope with existing situations—one moment being on the offensive and the other on the defensive—participating in open activities of mass agitation and propaganda while, at the same time, being capable of undertaking concealed activities which will obstruct and undermine public confidence in our foreign policy.

However, the clear-cut danger of a colonizer is that he is a part of a vast network of secret party members, of potential saboteurs and espionage agents. The placement of these colonizers in key and basic industries is vital to the party from the standpoint of placing such colonizers in the position of promoting strikes, slowdowns, and so forth. In such concealed positions a colonizer, in the event of an emergency, becomes very effective to commit sabotage.

As a member of the National Textile Commission of the Communist Party, Penha was sent into the South in 1955 to offer guidance to party members engaged in infiltration-colonization activities in that

area. He was instructed to attend party meetings and to meet with party leaders to discuss their problems, map plans, and to pass on to them the organizational aims, party policy, and the party line.

COMMUNIST AGENTS ASSIGNED TO THE SOUTH

Mr. Penha testified he traveled throughout the area under extreme security measures, even to the extent that code names were used in his contacts. In spite of this, through the use of investigative techniques, he later learned the true identity of many of the individuals he met.

He was able to identify the following three members of the National Textile Commission: Robert Handman, chairman and coordinator; George Sheldrick, who represented the State of New Jersey; and William Evans, who represented the State of North Carolina.

In addition, Mr. Penha identified Fanny Licht, a northerner living in New York City, as being regional organizer for the Communist Party in the South. As such, Mr. Penha explained, she had the responsibility under the Communist Party's National Committee for supervising all Communist activities in the South. Mr. Penha identified 10 individuals he knew as colonizers—a considerable number of whom were also from the North.

Several of those he identified as Communist Party members were called as witnesses during the hearings held in Atlanta. Among them was Madge Spurny Cole, a resident of Greensboro, N.C., employed in a textile mill as a "spare hand in the spinning department." She admitted to being a native of New York State and holding a master's degree from Syracuse University. In her application for employment, a photostatic copy of which was introduced during the hearing, she stated that her education was limited to high school, and completely concealed the fact that she was a university graduate. Mrs. Cole invoked the fifth amendment when asked if she was a Communist Party colonizer.

William J. Robertson III was another witness identified as a party colonizer who, like Mrs. Cole, had concealed the fact that he was a college graduate when he applied for a menial job with a southern textile mill. Like Mrs. Cole, he also invoked the fifth amendment when asked to affirm or deny Penha's testimony concerning his participation in the Communist plan for penetration of the South.

Karl Korstad, who also held a master's degree from Syracuse University, was identified by Mr. Penha as a member of the Industrial Commission of the Communist Party at High Point, N.C., and as a colonizer. When confronted with this allegation, Korstad invoked the fifth amendment and refused to testify.

A number of other witnesses who were identified by Penha as party members also refused on the grounds of the fifth amendment to furnish the committee with any information concerning party activities in the South, and their own part in such activities.

THE SOUTHERN NEWSLETTER

During the hearings, the committee also brought to light Communist propaganda activities carried on in the South. The committee has found that a periodical known as the Southern Newsletter has been carrying the Communist Party line and propaganda into the South

since its inception in June 1956. Eugene Feldman was summoned for questioning because of his connection with the periodical as editor, and the fact that Armando Penha had identified him as a party member who served on the party's Industrial Commission at High Point, N.C., and as a former colonizer. Committee files and records reveal that Feldman was also identified as a party member by two other FBI undercover agents in 1956.

Feldman, who lives in Chicago, invoked the fifth amendment and refused to answer practically every question propounded to him by the committee. He refused to acknowledge the fact that he is the editor of the Southern Newsletter and invoked the fifth amendment when asked if he was a member of the Communist Party, or if he knew Mr. Penha. He also refused to state whether certain individuals identified as Communists were in any way associated with the publication.

During Feldman's appearance a photostatic copy of an application for a post office box filed by him in Louisville, Ky., for the Southern Newsletter was introduced. The publication is edited and published in Chicago. However, it uses as its mailing address Post Office Box 1307 in Louisville, Ky., to create the impression that it is a native product of the South. The aforementioned application carried the name of Oakley C. Johnson as a reference.

The committee is in possession of a copy of a letter mailed out by the New York Committee for the Southern Newsletter, announcing a meeting on December 19, 1958, in New York to "help the growth of the Southern Newsletter to continue its fine work." Oakley C. Johnson is also named as chairman of this obviously pro-Communist committee. Johnson was a member of the National Organizing Committee which initiated the Communist Party in 1919, and is currently writing for The Worker, official Communist Party organ.

During the hearings, Feldman declined to answer questions concerning Charles J. Coe (also known as Bob Coe), Donald L. (Don) West, and Carl Braden who have contributed articles to the Southern Newsletter. All have been identified as Communist Party members.

Braden appeared as a witness and refused to state whether he was a party member, and also refused to state whether he had any connection with the Southern Newsletter and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Braden has since been convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to a year in jail as a result of his testimony.

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is an organization with headquarters in New York, whose avowed purpose is to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and discredit the FBI. The Committee on Un-American Activities prepared a report on the organization in 1957 which described the activities of the ECLC and its campaign to cripple the antisubversive programs of Congress and Government agencies. The committee finds that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, established in 1951, although representing itself as a non-Communist group, actually operates as a front for the Communist Party. It has repeatedly assisted, by means of funds and legal aid, Communists involved in Smith Act violations and similar legal proceedings. One of its chief activities has been and still is the dissemination of voluminous Communist propaganda material.

Frank Wilkinson was called as a witness when he appeared in Atlanta as a representative of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to propagandize against the Committee on Un-American Activities and to protest its hearings. In 1956 Wilkinson was identified as a Communist Party member by a former FBI undercover agent within the party. Summoned at that time to answer the allegation, his reply to all questions was, "I am answering no questions of this committee." This also became his stock reply to questions when he appeared during the Atlanta hearings. He absolutely refused to discuss his official connection with the ECLC, his past role as executive secretary of the ECLC adjunct, the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms, or whether he was a member of the Communist Party. Wilkinson has since been convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to one year in jail.

Disputing the non-Communist claim of the organization, the committee finds that a number of other individuals connected with the ECLC also have been identified under oath as Communists. Among those are: Harvey O'Connor, chairman of the ECLC; Corliss Lamont, vice chairman, who was identified by four former Communists during hearings held by the Subversive Activities Control Board on the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; Russ Nixon, a member of the executive board of the National Council of the ECLC; Muriel Gravelle McAvoy, formerly employed as a secretary; Dorothy W. Douglas; Benjamin Dreyfus; Victor Rabinowitz (identified before a Senate investigating committee); Carey McWilliams; Anne Braden, and David Rein. The six last named are members of the National Council of the ECLC. A substantial number of those listed on a recent letterhead of the ECLC have lengthy Communist front records.

One of the most illuminating aspects of the hearings in Atlanta was the testimony of a Hungarian refugee, who, from 1945 to 1956, was a prisoner of the Soviet Union, but is now a resident of the South. Due to the fact that the witness has relatives now behind the Iron Curtain, his true identity could not be revealed. However, his account of the tortures and indignities suffered by himself and his father at the hands of his Communist captors portrays a vivid and horrifying picture of communism in action.

NEWARK, N.J.

Communist infiltration of strategic manufacturing plants in the highly industrialized Newark, N.J., area was described by witnesses who testified before this committee in the course of 3-day hearings in Newark during 1958.

The committee received testimony from a total of 16 witnesses at its Newark hearings, held September 3-5, 1958,⁶ including a number of individuals in the Newark area who have been identified as being active in the Communist Party's underground apparatus in this country. Three of the witnesses presented valuable information based on their past membership in the Communist Party, either as dedicated Communists or undercover operatives for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The remaining witnesses defiantly invoked the fifth amendment rather than answer questions regarding the conspiratorial Communist operations with which they have been linked.

⁶ See "Communist Infiltration and Activities in Newark, N.J.," hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, Sept. 3, 4, and 5, 1958.

Robert J. Dixon, Jr., a member of the Communist Party from 1945 until he broke with the organization in disgust in 1950, gave the committee the benefit of the insight into Communist purposes he had obtained as a leader in a Communist club designed to infiltrate basic industry in the area. Dixon, as an employee of a General Electric plant in Bloomfield, N.J., had been enrolled in an industrial club of the Communist Party. This Communist club was composed of employees of GE and other electrical plants in the Newark area, whose work for the party was described as follows by Dixon:

* * * those who belong to those clubs can always pass on information that the party could pick up and use. It is a means of organization within that plant which that member may belong to. He is always a contact point, or there may be others whom he could contact or try to contact.

UNITED ELECTRICAL WORKERS

The Communist Party also sought to exert its subversive influence in the vital electrical industry through the organizational framework of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, according to the testimony of Dixon and another witness at the Newark hearings, Bernard Zick. Dixon, while a member of the Communist Party, was president of the UE local which held bargaining rights in his electrical plant.

Zick, an employee of the Tung Sol electrical plant in Bloomfield, N.J., was a member of the same Communist Party industrial club to which Dixon belonged, until he, too, became disillusioned with the party in 1950. Zick described maneuvers which the Communist Party ordered its industrial club members to engage in for the purpose of maintaining Communist control over local UE unions strategically placed in the Tung Sol and GE plants.

Dennis James, who had served as an FBI undercover operative in the Labor Youth League in the Newark area for several years, described before the committee the activities of this youth organization of the Communist Party. He also testified that it was the practice of the Labor Youth League to intermesh its operations and membership with such Communist front organizations as the Civil Rights Congress and the Progressive Party.

The witnesses observed from their personal experiences that the Communist Party operations were increasingly underground by 1950. In view of the trend away from open party activity, Dixon testified that he believed the Communist threat to be more serious today than ever before.

COMMUNIST UNDERGROUND APPARATUS

The Communist Party's concentration on an expanded and stronger underground apparatus during the 1950's was designed to thwart the exposure and prosecution of Communist agents operating in this country. Party members sent into the underground were in many cases required to assume new residences and identities. For greater protection against exposure, these underground agents were known to very few in the regular party organization and their contacts with the aboveground apparatus were usually handled by trusted Communist couriers.

The committee succeeded in locating and subpoenaing three individuals in the Newark area who have been identified as members of the strategic underground arm of the Communist Party: Kate Heck, Louis Malinow, and Emanuel Cantor.

Kate Heck's activities, committee investigations and hearings reveal, offer an illustration of the Communist Party's aforementioned massive shift to underground activity. In the late 1940's, Kate Heck was observed to be operating as a county organizer for the Communist Party in the Newark area, where she was also openly employed by the Communist-controlled United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers union. In the 1950's, she had moved to Boston, where, under the alias of B. Brosser, she was assigned as courier and disciplinarian in the party underground. She participated in these conspiratorial activities in New England until 1957, when she resumed residence in Newark.

Miss Heck was questioned extensively regarding her role in the Communist underground operations. She persistently invoked the fifth amendment, however, and indicated that even a grant of immunity from criminal prosecution would not persuade her to divulge information regarding the important party work with which she has been identified.

Similarly adamant in their refusal to discuss recent underground assignments for the Communist Party were Louis Malinow and Emanuel Cantor. Their repeated invocation of the fifth amendment also applied to any discussion of their previous open party activity. Both Malinow and Cantor, before the Communist Party strategy shift toward increased underground operation, had run for public office in New Jersey on the Communist Party ticket. Malinow also had been identified as organizer for the Essex County organization of the New Jersey Communist Party, while Cantor served in a similar capacity for the party in Mercer County, N.J.

OTHER WITNESSES

The committee questioned a number of other Newark area residents identified as being active in either industrial or professional groupings of the Communist Party. Also summoned as a witness was John F. Norman, once publicly acknowledged by the Communist Party as a representative of its New Jersey State Committee but today reportedly active in a dissident "right wing" faction of the organization. In every instance these witnesses invoked their constitutional privileges against self-incrimination in response to committee questioning.

Harvey O'Connor, a writer who is chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, was subpoenaed to testify before the committee when he appeared in Newark to speak at a rally staged by that organization's local chapter. The rally was held to arouse opposition to this committee's appearance in Newark. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which has been cited as a Communist front, has for its stated objective the abolition of this committee and the curbing of security work by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Mr. O'Connor refused to appear in answer to his subpoena. He sent a letter to the committee and issued a statement to the press challenging the right of the committee to hold hearings and to subpoena him, or anyone

else, as a witness. The committee thereafter instituted proceedings against Mr. O'Connor for contempt of Congress.

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

The international Communist conspiracy is bombarding student groups and nationality groups in the United States and throughout the free world with multilingual propaganda aimed at enticing them to the Communist side in the current life-and-death struggle between totalitarianism and democracy.

This was brought out at the 1958 hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities concerned with the increasing flood of Communist propaganda in the United States emanating from domestic and foreign sources.

The committee obtained significant information on the subject of domestically produced propaganda—particularly that directed toward America's foreign-born population—from John Lautner, an active Communist Party member for more than 20 years before his expulsion from the party in 1950. He discussed, for example, the voluminous material emanating from Communist-dominated foreign-language presses in this country. Testifying at committee hearings held in Gary, Ind., on February 10, 1958,⁷ Mr. Lautner stated:

The party paid a lot of attention to nationality-group work because it is a fact that in basic industries you have a lot of nationality groups. You have Hungarians, Polish, Ukrainians, Rumanians, and what-have-you, that work in basic industries. They don't read the Daily Worker. Even the party groups in these nationality groups don't read the Daily Worker because they have difficulties in reading English. So the language bureaus of the Communist Party have newspapers like the Hungarians had the Hungarian Daily Journal, and various other nationality group papers.

Now, these papers get into a lot of places where the Daily Worker or Sunday Worker could not get in; and these papers also reflect the party line, the party tactical line, and the party thinking and help the party in penetrating these various national groups who are employed in big industrial areas and basic industries.

Mr. Irving Fishman, Deputy Collector of Customs in New York City, appeared as a witness at a number of hearings and analyzed the nature of Communist propaganda from foreign sources, which he predicted would reach the staggering total of 10 million individual pieces for the year 1958.

PROPAGANDA DESTINED FOR NEW ENGLAND

Mr. Fishman and his administrative assistant, Miss Eleanor Suske, testified at the New England area hearings, which were held on March 14, 18, 19, 20, and 21, 1958, regarding the influx of foreign Communist propaganda into the New England area.⁸ A survey conducted by Mr. Fishman's office revealed that approximately 80,000 pieces of foreign

⁷ See "Investigation of Communist Infiltration and Propaganda Activities in Basic Industry (Gary, Ind., Area)," hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, Feb. 10 and 11, 1958, p. 1972.

⁸ See "Investigation of Communist Activities in the New England Area," pt. 2, hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, Mar. 19, 1958, p. 2178.

Communist propaganda passed through the port of New York destined for the New England area within a recent 2-month period.

As in hearings held in previous years, Mr. Fishman reiterated the need for amendments to the Foreign Agents Registration Act to require the labeling of foreign Communist propaganda prior to its importation. Mr. Fishman stated further that much of this material is sent to the United States via non-Communist countries and that—

Confining it to France, for example, we found that in Paris anyone could buy any quantity of this material and send it into the United States without any control at all. The bookshops run by the Soviet Government in Paris had complete collections of all of this material and to some extent even a finer selection than was available through the Soviet Union.

YOUTH AS A TARGET

On June 11 and 12, 1958, hearings based exclusively on Communist propaganda and its dissemination were resumed in Washington, D.C.⁹ Particular attention was given by the committee to the dissemination of international Communist propaganda to student and youth groups in the United States and throughout the free world. Mr. Irving Fishman testified that two of the principal Communist channels for capturing the minds of youth were revealed to be the International Union of Students, founded in 1946, with headquarters in Prague, Czechoslovakia, which has branches in most countries, and the World Federation of Democratic Youth, founded in 1945, and claiming over 85 million members in 97 countries of the world. Although over one-half million pieces of Communist propaganda destined for student and youth groups enter the United States monthly, none of this material is labeled as Communist or registered as required under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, because the Soviet apparatus has adopted the devious tactic of channeling it into the United States through non-Communist countries, Mr. Fishman pointed out.

During this hearing the committee heard testimony from Dr. Annette Rubinstein and Sam Pevzner, writers and propagandists for numerous Communist publications. Also heard was Boris Cohen, owner of Prompt Press, Inc., printers of the bulk of Communist literature in this country. All three witnesses invoked constitutional privileges in response to questions relating to Communist Party associations.

Relative to the problem of controlling, within the framework of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, distributors of foreign films and literature who contract with agents of a foreign principal, the committee received testimony from Nathan Lenvin, Chief, Foreign Agents Registration Division, and Thomas J. Brandon, owner of Brandon Films, Inc. Mr. Brandon detailed his contractual relationship with Artkino, a Soviet film distribution firm in New York. Under existing law, Artkino is required to register as an agent of a foreign principal, whereas Brandon is not. Mr. Lenvin noted the difficulties involved in drafting legislation that would cover the Brandon-Artkino type of relationship.

⁹ See "Communist Propaganda—Student Groups, Distributors, and Propagandists," pt. 9, hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, June 11 and 12, 1958.

PROPAGANDA EARMARKED FOR THE SOUTH

At the area hearing held in Atlanta, Georgia, on July 29, 30, and 31, 1958,¹⁰ in furtherance of the committee's directive to gather information concerning the extent, character, and objects of Communist propaganda and its dissemination within the United States, additional testimony was obtained concerning propaganda of both a foreign and domestic origin.

Mr. Irving Fishman, Deputy Collector of Customs, New York City, testified that residents of the South, like those of other parts of the United States, were targets for Communist propaganda from abroad. To secure an appraisal of the nature of this propaganda material, a spot check was made over a 2-week period in the area of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. In his testimony, Mr. Fishman described the type of Communist propaganda coming through the port of New York, destined for a number of these Southern States:

* * * Areas like the State of Georgia and other southern states get a much more selected type of material. Here the volume is much less. The percentage of material sent here is far less than it is in some of the northern states. But it is selected more carefully. It is sent to people who probably will disseminate and redistribute it in domestic and local publications. The propaganda program currently is directed, first of all, to the general type of Communist material; then, too, a good deal of effort has recently been directed to the students at the secondary schools in the United States, the colleges, and universities. * * *

Samplings of the material showed that it was also carefully selected for those who have their origin in foreign countries. This material is referred to by the committee as "redefection material" since its purpose is to entice the "return of the native" to his homeland, now a captive state of the Communists. It portrays his homeland as a land of plenty—far superior to his adopted country, the United States. The recipients are requested to return and give the benefit of their acquired knowledge of the United States to their native lands' dictators. The Communists appeal to the recipients' emotions by claiming that this is their duty—allegiance to their place of birth. This individually addressed material has alarmed the recipients to such a degree that they have, in many cases, pleaded with authorities to stop the flow of this propaganda.

ANALYSIS OF PROPAGANDA ENTERING NEW JERSEY

Communist propaganda and its dissemination were again a focal point at the committee hearings which were held in Newark, N.J., during September 1958.¹¹ According to the testimony given the committee by Mr. Irving Fishman, the State of New Jersey ranks fifth in the volume of foreign propaganda received from overseas. This was based on a survey which Mr. Fishman conducted over a 1-month period for the particular purpose of evaluating the flow of Communist

¹⁰ See "Communist Infiltration and Activities in the South," hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, July 29, 30, and 31, 1958, p. 2638.

¹¹ See "Communist Infiltration and Activities in Newark, N.J.," hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, Sept. 3, 4, and 5, 1958, pp. 2796 and 2797.

propaganda into that State. It was also noted that the volume of foreign Communist propaganda which is flowing into the New Jersey area has been steadily increasing since 1955.

While testifying in the New Jersey hearings, Mr. Fishman produced samples of typical propaganda material directed to this area. He stated that—

* * * Right at this moment, of course, great stress is being placed on our so-called interference in the [Middle East]. New Times, August 31, 1958, asks for quick, vigorous, and resolute action and discusses "What Next in the Middle East," and strongly attacks the United States and Great Britain for interference in the Middle East. Capitalistic aggressors are accused of being ready to start a war in order to protect their strategic positions in the Middle East.

Mr. Fishman gave the following as an example of the type of material that appears in some of the publications disseminated in this country. It is entitled "Data on Atrocities of United States Army in South Korea":

The atrocities of the U.S. Army in South Korea have been steadily increasing since the armistice.

The cases of atrocities committed by the U.S. Army during the period from the signing of the Armistice Agreement on July 27, 1953, to April 1958, amount to more than 200, even according to reports of the South Korean press.

The atrocities of the U.S. Army in South Korea have become more cruel and frequent since last year, especially since the moving of the "U.N. Command" to Seoul.

LOCAL DISTRIBUTORS

Mr. Fishman stated that in order to achieve the dissemination of all such foreign propaganda material within the United States it is absolutely necessary for the people in foreign countries who are putting out this material to have the cooperation of individuals within the United States.

Evelyn Skoloff Goldberg is such an individual. She was identified as a Communist Party member in the New Jersey hearings but, when called as a witness, invoked the first and fifth amendments in response to questions about her activities as a disseminator of Communist propaganda in the area. Mrs. Goldberg also invoked the first and fifth amendments when questioned about her present Communist Party membership and activities.

Mr. Fishman then proceeded to give the committee an overall picture, based on the first 6 months of 1958, of the total amount of foreign propaganda material emanating from behind the Iron Curtain and directed specifically to the United States. He stated that individual pieces of propaganda material coming into the country have vastly increased over the past few years. Mr. Fishman noted that a total of almost 5 million items of Communist propaganda entered the United States in the first 6 months of 1958. Mr. Fishman stated that if it continued at the same ratio for the last 6 months of 1958 the total amount of individual pieces of propaganda could very easily reach the 10 million mark for the year. This would be an increase of over

1 million from the previous year. From 1955 to 1958 a total of over 27 million individual pieces of this Communist propaganda have entered ports of the United States destined for dissemination throughout the country.

COMMUNIST SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT

Communist infiltration of the U.S. Government has presented one of the gravest threats to the security of our Nation.

Ever since the exposure of Communist subversion in Government by Whittaker Chambers and Elizabeth Bentley a decade ago, this committee has continuously sought to uncover further information on the degree to which Communists succeeded in penetrating our governmental institutions and the nature of their service to the party while in the Federal employ.

From time to time, the committee has called in as witnesses former Government employees who were identified as having been members of Communist underground cells and interrogated them in an effort to develop the interlocking elements of the Communist underground apparatus in Government.

The testimony of 13 such witnesses who were questioned in executive session regarding their possible knowledge of a number of individuals, some of whom have been identified as members of the Communist underground in Government and some of whom were known to have connections with the party's espionage apparatus, was released and printed in 1958.¹²

¹² See "Investigation of Soviet Espionage," hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities. Oct. 7, 8, and 9 and Nov. 20, 1957; pt. 2, Feb. 28, 1956, Feb. 25, 1958.

CHAPTER III

REPORTS

CHRONICLE OF TREASON

Chairman Francis E. Walter declared in this document¹ that although the technical membership of the Communist Party in the United States has decreased, "the power of the Soviet forces operating within the United States is unimpaired." He also stated:

The past year has been one of the greatest periods of triumph for the Kremlin and its confederates throughout the free world. Within the United States, the Communist apparatus has evolved new implements of political conquest. These have found roots in, and have in turn contributed to, a dangerous climate of complacency which itself represents an acute threat to the very foundation of our security system.

The danger of communism is mounting—not receding. The United States remains the major target of Soviet aggression. Indifference to the Kremlin's avowed program of global conquest can lead only to the inevitable destruction of our free institutions and ourselves as a people.

The chairman reviewed the major acts of treason committed by Communists in the United States, a considerable number of whom, although they had served as agents of the international Communist movement, were never technically members of the Communist Party. The cases summarized were those of—

Harry Gold, the Philadelphia chemist who began his spy activity for the Soviet Union in 1936 by turning over to its agents U.S. industrial secrets. Gold capped his career in espionage on the first Sunday of June 1945, on the Castillo Street Bridge in Santa Fe, N. Mex., when he turned over to a man he had frequently contacted in New York City on previous occasions, a packet containing secret information about the U.S. atomic bomb. In a few days this information was on its way to Moscow.

Klaus Fuchs, the man Gold met on the Santa Fe bridge. Fuchs, a German-born physicist and naturalized British subject, came to the United States during World War II with the clearance of British security officials to work with the Manhattan Engineering District. Fuchs served as a Soviet spy while in this country. As a result of FBI investigation and their subsequent conviction on espionage charges, both Gold and Fuchs were sentenced to 30 years in prison.

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, key figures in the spy network that included Fuchs and Gold. J. Edgar Hoover said Gold and Fuchs had committed "the crime of the century." Judge Kaufman, in sentencing the Rosenbergs after their conviction for transmitting U.S. A-bomb secrets to the Soviet Union, said: "Plain, deliberate murder is dwarfed in magnitude by comparison with the crime you have committed."

¹ See "Chronicle of Treason," Representative Francis E. Walter, Committee on Un-American Activities, Mar. 3-9, 1953.

Julius Rosenberg, campus radical and Communist during his college days in New York City, met Ethel Greenglass—who had also joined the Communist Party in the 1930's—at various party functions and married her a few years later. The two indoctrinated her brother, David, to the extent that when they married in 1939, he joined the Young Communist League as a wedding present to them.

Julius Rosenberg began spying for Moscow in 1944 when David Greenglass entered the Army and was assigned to the U.S. A-bomb project in New Mexico. The Rosenbergs exerted pressure on him to turn information over to them. He resisted at first, but eventually gave in. After the arrest of Gold and Fuchs, Greenglass refused to flee to Mexico with money Rosenberg gave him. Instead he confessed to the FBI, implicating his sister and brother-in-law in the theft of U.S. nuclear secrets. He also testified against them in their trial, which ended in their being convicted and sentenced to death in the electric chair.

The worldwide Communist agitation and propaganda campaign which followed the trial and conviction of the Rosenbergs was stated by the committee chairman to have the following objectives:

(1) To vilify the United States and to spread the lie that its Government persecutes minorities and political dissenters.

(2) To raise funds for overall Communist programs of subversion and propaganda.

(3) To recruit new members and sympathizers for communism.

(4) To restore the badly tarnished reputation of the party.

(5) To create and exploit divisive anti-Semitism.

(6) To bolster the campaign to infiltrate American churches.

(7) To divert attention from anti-Semitism in Russia and its satellites.

(8) To discredit American courts and to cast doubt on the investigation and conviction of all Communists.

He also stated that:

Viewed in its entirety, the Communist Rosenberg campaign stands forth as a design of monumental cruelty and deceit. There is no way to measure the damage it inflicted upon American prestige but it was extensive and lasting.

The story of *Judith Coplon*, whose name is now *Mrs. Albert H. Socolov*, was also told in this document. Miss Coplon, an employee of the Department of Justice, was arrested by the FBI on a New York City street in March 1949 with her Soviet spy accomplice, *Valentin Gubitchev*, an engineer employed by the United Nations. Both she and Gubitchev had been under FBI surveillance for some time. At the time of her arrest, Miss Coplon had in her purse secret documents taken from Department of Justice files. Both were tried and convicted of stealing U.S. secrets, and of conspiracy to commit espionage. Gubitchev's 15-year sentence was suspended on condition that he leave this country and return to the U.S.S.R., which he did.

Mrs. Socolov, though convicted twice in as many trials, is still free today, in spite of the fact that one of the courts that upset her conviction on a technicality found that "her guilt is plain."

Three important and specialized types of Communist propaganda activity in the United States which had been the subject of investigation by the committee were also summarized in "Chronicle of Treason."

They were:

(1) A drive to lure refugees and defectors, who have found asylum in America, back to the slave-camp homelands from which they had fled.

(2) Propagandizing by Americans who penetrate the Iron Curtain through the fraudulent use of passports.

(3) Treasonable activities of American Communists in spreading propaganda among American prisoners of war in Korea.

The document also exposed the manner in which American Communists evaded U.S. passport laws to defame the United States while attending international "peace" conferences and other Communist affairs behind the Iron Curtain. Soviet bloc officials would not stamp entry visas in the passport books of American Communists, but gave them a separate paper with an entry visa on it so there would be no official record that they had entered Iron Curtain areas in violation of passport laws.

The story of *Col. Rudolf Ivanovich Abel*, highest ranking Soviet spy captured in the United States, was also recounted. Abel had entered this country from Canada in 1948 on a false passport and posed as a photographer and artist while he headed a Soviet spy ring up to the very moment he was arrested in 1957. Reino Hayhanen, one of Abel's accomplices in the spy ring, defected to the United States. This led to Abel's exposure. He was tried, convicted, and sentenced to 30 years in prison.

THE ERICA WALLACH STORY

One of the great mysteries of the cold war—for a period of years—was the case of the missing members of the Field family and Erica Wallach, who was widely reported to be (but actually was not) the adopted daughter of Noel Field. In "The Erica Wallach Story"² the committee revealed many elements in this mystery that had never previously been made public.

Noel Field, who had been employed successively by the U.S. State Department, the League of Nations, and the Unitarian Service Committee as director of its relief work in Europe during World War II, had been identified as a member of Communist espionage rings while working for the State Department and League of Nations. In the summer of 1949, Field disappeared while in Prague, Czechoslovakia. His wife, Herta, and his brother, Hermann, disappeared behind the Iron Curtain later that year while searching for him. In August 1950, Erica Wallach disappeared while on the same mission in Berlin.

The name of Noel Field cropped up in some of the treason trials held in Communist satellite nations in the early 1950's, during which it was claimed that he was a U.S. spy. Nothing was actually known about his case, however, until he was released by the Communists late in 1954. Even then little was learned because, upon his release, Field chose to remain behind the Iron Curtain. He sought and was granted political asylum in Communist Hungary where he is still living and serving, from time to time, as a mouthpiece of Communist propaganda directed to the West.

Erica Wallach was released in Moscow in the fall of 1955. After returning to Berlin, she visited her mother in England and then began her efforts to gain entry into the United States to rejoin her husband,

² See "The Erica Wallach Story," Committee on Un-American Activities, Mar. 21, 1958.

a former U.S. Army captain whom she had married in England in the spring of 1948, and their children. They had returned to this country about a year after her disappearance.

Because Mrs. Wallach had been closely associated with the Fields for a number of years and also with many European Communists during World War II—and because she had been a member of the Communist Party of West Germany from January 1946 until she resigned in early 1948—she was denied entry to this country.

In the early fall of 1957, she was interviewed by a member of the committee's staff in Europe and, on the basis of investigation and testimony taken from her at that time in executive session, the chairman of the committee recommended her admittance to this country as a defector from communism.

After her arrival in the United States in October 1957, Mrs. Wallach testified before the committee in executive session, giving considerable information about Noel Field and his activities during the years she knew him in Europe and also the complete story of her own life and experiences during the 5 years she was held prisoner by the Communists.

Mrs. Wallach revealed that for a period of more than 2 years after being seized by the Communist secret police in East Berlin, she was shifted from one prison to another in East Germany, where she was brutally treated by her captors in an effort to make her confess falsely that she was a spy for the United States. She was then tried, sentenced to death, and sent to Moscow for execution. After 6 months' confinement in a death cell there—and after Stalin's death—she was suddenly informed that her sentence had been changed to 15 years at hard labor. She was then sent to the notorious slave labor camps at Vorkuta and Abes, where she worked at laying railroad track and similar tasks until her release in the early fall of 1955.

On the basis of Mrs. Wallach's testimony, which was supported in part by affidavits from persons held in Communist prisons with her, "The Erica Wallach Story" contained an account of Communist methods of extracting confessions. This revealed not only the various tortures she had been subjected to by the Communists in their unsuccessful attempts to break her will and force a false confession from her, but also analyzed the basic psychological principles underlying the Communist confession-extracting technique.

In addition, on the basis of Mrs. Wallach's testimony, it was possible for the committee to make a telling comparison between the system of justice existing in Communist nations and that of the United States by contrasting her experience with the treatment given Col. Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, the highest ranking Soviet espionage agent apprehended in this country.

While Colonel Abel received an eminently fair trial in this country, with all the safeguards that would be granted to any American, Mrs. Wallach had been given none of these by the Communists. She was never brought before a judge and formally accused of any crime. She was not permitted the services of a lawyer. She was held in prison for 2 years before she even learned the charges against her and, when she was finally tried before a Soviet court, the prosecutor did not even appear to make his case and not a single witness against her was produced.

When her captors accused Mrs. Wallach of crimes against the Soviet Union, she pointed out that she had never been on Soviet soil, had

never spied against it, and that the Government therefore had no right to hold, interrogate, try, or convict her. She was told in reply to this claim that the Soviet Union enjoyed worldwide criminal jurisdiction, that anyone who had done anything for the international bourgeoisie or against any Communist in any part of the world had committed a crime over which the Kremlin had jurisdiction and could be tried for it the moment he set foot on Communist soil.

Hitherto unpublicized facts about pro-Communist activities on the part of Alger Hiss and his connections with Noel Field were brought out in this report. On the basis of documents in its files, the committee revealed for the first time that in 1940, after Field had lost his job with the League of Nations, Alger Hiss had tried to get him a position in the State Department again, as executive assistant to the U.S. High Commissioner to the Philippines. The report summarized the significance of Hiss' actions in this incident as follows:

The significance of Hiss' actions in this incident is most obvious: Five years after he had tried to recruit Noel Field into his Communist espionage apparatus in the U.S. Government, only to have lost him (on the orders of J. Peters) to Hede Massing's apparatus, Hiss was trying to get Field back into the State Department. Also, he was using Laurence Duggan in this effort—even though, 5 years earlier again, he had also apparently lost Duggan to the Massing apparatus.

ORGANIZED COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES

The Communist Party in the United States is like a chameleon. It has operated under a variety of names and¹ with an even greater variety of purported programs without once altering its intrinsic character as a conspiracy dedicated to using every means at its command to create a Soviet America.

A 153-page document issued by the committee during 1958 under the title "Organized Communism in the United States,"³ traced the so-called reorganizations staged by the Communist Party from its founding in frankly revolutionary fervor in 1919 up to the present ostensibly "peaceful" and "democratic" Communist operation.

This document, which brings up to date a similar chronology issued by the committee in 1953, contains facts which are essential to a proper perspective on the Communist Party's maneuvers since the death of Stalin.

With false optimism generated by the success of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, Communists in the United States had first organized into two competing units in 1919—the Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party of America. Blatantly calling for violent overthrow of the U.S. Government, these Communists eventually formed a single organization upon orders from Moscow. As spelled out in detail in the aforementioned committee document, the party thereafter paraded under a series of other titles, with increasingly deceptive programs as, under guidance from the Kremlin, it sought to increase its effectiveness among a population generally hostile to foreign-directed revolutionary activities.

Since 1957 the Communist Party in the United States has again been in the throes of a reorganization as a result of developments in its

³ See "Organized Communism in the United States," Committee on Un-American Activities, revised May 1958.

home office, the Soviet Union. The exposure of Stalin's crimes, following the death of that dictator, and the power struggle in the Kremlin, finally won by Khrushchev, resulted in confusion and dissension within the Communist Party in this country. A proposal to alter once more the very name of the Communist Party of the United States was debated but defeated in the course of this internal controversy. The party's program, however, was cleverly revamped in order to conform with the line now issued for world Communists by Khrushchev rather than Stalin.

As the Communist Party in the United States today echoes Khrushchev's alluring slogans regarding communism's desire for peaceful coexistence and friendly competition with the non-Communist world, the actual record of organized communism in this country exposes such protestations as simply another maneuver in the unchanging Communist quest for world domination.

WHO ARE THEY?

Missiles, rockets, and the Mechta⁴ are significant achievements of the 1958 Geophysical Year. They are becoming familiar terms to man, woman, and child, and signify the race between the free world and the Communist world for the control of outer space.

The masters of international communism, by unscrupulously exploiting men and materials, have obtained a significant measure of scientific success. They cite such accomplishments as evidence of the superiority of their system over a free society. Combined with their claims to desire only "peaceful coexistence" and friendly competition with other nations, their propaganda has proved tempting to some fearful and wishful thinkers in the free world.

Those tempted to succumb to the allure of Communist propaganda would do well to remember the words of Ralph Waldo Emerson in his "Essay on Social Aims":

Don't Say Things. What You Are Stands Over You the While, and Thunders So That I Cannot Hear What You Say to the Contrary.

This maxim has been the keynote of the Committee on Un-American Activities in its biographical series on the leaders of the Communist world, which the committee has published in order to expose the contradiction between the words and deeds of the Communist dictators. In previous years the committee has published biographies on the following: Nikita Khrushchev, Nikolai Bulganin, Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, Marshals Zhukov and Konev, Walter Ulbricht, Janos Kadar, Marshal Tito, Wladyslaw Gomulka, Kim Il Sung, Ho Chi Minh, Maurice Thorez, and Palmiro Togliatti. During 1958, as in the past, additional biographical sketches were prepared for the committee by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress:

VICENTE LOMBARDO TOLEDANO

The biographies of Vicente Lombardo Toledano, secretary general of the Popular Party of Mexico; and Luis Carlos Prestes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Brazil, constituted one publication⁵ in last year's series. Lombardo and Prestes rank as two of the Kremlin's key agents in the Western Hemisphere. They command

⁴ The latest Russian satellite, commonly referred to as the Lunik.

⁵ See "Who Are They?—Vicente Lombardo Toledano and Luis Carlos Prestes (Mexico—Brazil)," Committee on Un-American Activities, Part 8, Feb. 21, 1958.

enormous influence in two nations whose resources and geographical location are vital to the defense of the United States and the Western Hemisphere.

At present Lombardo is president of the Communist-dominated CTAL (Confederation of Latin American Workers), secretary general of the pro-Communist Popular Party in Mexico, and one of the vice presidents of the Communist WFTU (World Federation of Trade Unions).

The CTAL which Lombardo founded in 1937 currently has affiliated unions in Brazil, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Uruguay, and Venezuela, and also claims to have affiliates in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and Cuba. Its propaganda, reeking of its origins, is strongly anti-United States. There is little doubt that Lombardo uses his position as president of CTAL and vice president of WFTU to meddle in the affairs of neighboring countries in the interest of international communism.

In 1948 Lombardo, with the help of Marxist intellectuals and others, succeeded in luring leftwing elements in Mexico into a new political association, the Popular Party (Partido Popular). The party's program was anti-United States, opposed to "North American imperialism," and called for the political and economic liberty of Puerto Rico.

Lombardo achieved his greatest renown and power through his work in organizing Mexican labor. From 1923 to 1932 he served as a member of the executive committee of the Regional Confederation of Mexican Workers (CROM), the most powerful labor organization in Mexico at the time. In 1932 he broke with Luis Morones, the leader of CROM, on tactical and ideological grounds.

Lombardo performed his most successful work as a labor organizer under the Cardenas administration (1934-40). After defecting from CROM, he helped organize the General Confederation of Workers and Peasants of Mexico. In 1936, with the blessings of President Cardenas, he transformed his new union into the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM), which soon became the most powerful labor union in Mexico. Lombardo remained the secretary general of CTM until 1940.

In 1937 Lombardo branched out by founding the Confederation of Latin American Workers (CTAL), with the idea of achieving unity among the laboring classes of all Latin America and, incidentally, enhancing his own power. Lombardo's control of the CTM and the CTAL made him a very influential figure indeed. Shortly after Pearl Harbor a Latin American diplomat characterized Lombardo as "the only man in the Western Hemisphere who could sabotage the war effort in 24 hours."

In 1937-38 Lombardo figured prominently in President Cardenas' reorganization of the National Revolutionary Party, which in 1938 was transformed into the Party of the Mexican Revolution (Partido de la Revolución Mexicana—PRM).

When his influence in the PRM began to wane in 1944, Lombardo formed the Mexican Socialist League (Liga Socialista Mexicana) in an endeavor to regain political power. In the early postwar period Lombardo Toledano was the outstanding political leader outside the Government and one of the most powerful figures in Mexico. Lombardo's influence declined, however, under the administration of President Miguel Aleman, who lined himself up solidly with the West in the emerging cold war.

As a result of Lombardo's differences with the Government party, the other leaders of the CTM ousted him from the federation which he had founded. Luis Morones, Lombardo's former mentor in CROM, stated flatly that Lombardo's every move was financed by Moscow and he was widely labeled as a "Kremlin agent."

It is certainly true that Lombardo Toledano has descended far from his peak of power in Mexico in the 1940's. But though numerically and electorally weak, the Popular Party, under Lombardo's leadership, has been successful in arousing nationalist feeling against the United States. Lombardo's hatred of this country and his devotion to the Soviet Union, coupled with his vast experience in political intrigues, propagandizing, and labor organization, keeps him, as before, in the forefront of those persons who are most dangerous to the peace and security of the Western Hemisphere.

LUIS CARLOS PRESTES

For more than a quarter of a century Luis Carlos Prestes has been engaged in Communist Party activities in Brazil and he is still directing these activities. After taking part in a number of revolts in Brazil prior to 1927, Prestes left that country and spent the next 4 years in Bolivia, Uruguay, and Argentina. In exile he began to study communism and, by 1930, his conversion was complete.

The following year Prestes went to the Soviet Union where he worked as an engineer and continued his studies of communism. In 1935 he was made a member of the executive committee of the Communist International and is reported to have earned the confidence of Stalin.

The same year Prestes returned to Brazil, where he shortly became the principal leader of the Brazilian Communist Party. The party adopted the popular-front techniques and, capitalizing on Prestes' personal prestige, was able to draw into its National Liberation Alliance various student groups, army and navy units, intellectuals, reformist groups, and others opposed to the Vargas regime.

In November 1935, led by Prestes, the National Liberation Alliance gave the signal for revolt. After the revolt failed, the leaders were tried for sedition in 1937. Prestes, arrested a year earlier, was sentenced to 16 years in prison. In 1943, while still in prison, Prestes was elected general secretary of the Communist Party of Brazil.

Luis Carlos Prestes was released from prison in May 1945 in an amnesty for political prisoners. Once more he plunged into the political arena. With about 6 months in which to work before the presidential elections, Prestes set about reorganizing the Communist Party, which numbered only 4,000 members. The Communists showed unprecedented strength in the ensuing elections, polling some 700,000 votes, or about 15 percent of the total. Prestes himself was elected senator from the Federal District in this election. His election coincided with the beginning of the cold war. With his usual devotion to the Communist line, Prestes opened a violent campaign against the United States.

In May 1947 the Brazilian Government outlawed the Communist Party, and Congress followed suit by ousting its Communist members. Prestes immediately went into hiding and operated under-

ground for the next 10 years. The Communist Party, though illegal, also did not cease its activities.

In 1958, after the publication of this biography, Luis Carlos Prestes emerged from the underground and assumed a public role in the political life of Brazil.

Despite a number of defections from the Brazilian Communist Party by top leaders, and a drop in the party's membership, Prestes is still in full control of the organization of 50,000 Communists and represents a danger to his own country as well as to the United States.

Prestes' record shows that he was, and remains today, the master-mind behind the Communist plots to deliver Brazil to his leaders in Moscow.

ENVER HOXHA

Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the Albanian Workers' (Communist) Party and the Kremlin's puppet ruler of Albania, was the subject of another publication⁶ in the committee's "Who Are They?" series.

During the Italian occupation of Albania, which began in April 1939, Hoxha organized a Communist-led underground movement. In 1941, with Yugoslav assistance, he played a prominent part in the founding of the Albanian Communist Party and was elected secretary general of the provisional Central Committee of the party. Two years later, he was again assigned to the same post, but on a permanent basis.

During World War II, Hoxha led the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Movement. The shifting political and military events in Albania paralleled closely the course of affairs in Yugoslavia which led to Tito's success. As a result of the political alignments which developed in 1943-44, Hoxha succeeded in securing a distinct advantage over other groups contesting for power. On May 24, 1944, Hoxha was made political and military chief of the National Liberation Forces and, in October of the same year, became premier of the provisional anti-Fascist government. At the end of 1944 the German military forces withdrew from Albania under attack from Allied forces and troops of the Albanian resistance movements. For a variety of complex reasons Hoxha and his Communist partners were left in undisputed control of Albania.

In a manner consistent with Communist postwar practices in other parts of Eastern Europe, Hoxha called for "elections" to the Constituent Assembly in the fall of 1945. Only a single list of candidates was allowed and all forms of opposition were suppressed and outlawed, with the result that the Communist-led "Democratic Front" achieved an "overwhelming" victory. When the People's Republic of Albania was proclaimed in January 1946, Hoxha became its President, Premier, and Commander in Chief of the armed forces.

Since his rise to power, Hoxha has accomplished his main task of making Albania completely subservient to the men behind the walls of the Kremlin. So faithfully has Hoxha adhered to Moscow that it would be difficult to distinguish between prevailing attitudes in the leadership of Albania and any Soviet Republic in matters of domestic and foreign policy. Forced to submit to the greatest tyrannical power in history, the Albanian people have been reduced to the lowest living standard in Europe.

⁶ See "Who Are They?—Enver Hoxha (Albania) and Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (Rumania)," Committee on Un-American Activities, Part 9, Aug. 5, 1958.

GHEORGHE GHEORGHIU-DEJ

Also included in this same publication was a biographical sketch of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, first secretary of the Rumanian Workers, (Communist) Party.

Gheorghiu-Dej joined the illegal Rumanian Communist Party in 1929 while working for the Rumanian State Railroads in Galatz. He served as secretary general of the Communist-dominated railway workers' union in the early 1930's. In 1932, he was dismissed, presumably because of illegal activities among the workers. In February of the following year, he achieved fame in Communist Rumanian annals when he organized and led the violent, massive strike of 7,000 railway workers at the Grivitza Works in Bucharest. Moscow and the Third International had ordered this strike because they saw the railroad workers as their most promising instrument for terrorizing Rumania. Intentionally, the Communists placed women and children at the gates of the railroad shops to lend pathos to the uprising and render more difficult any action to restore law and order. In subsequent clashes between the Communists and Government forces many innocent women and children were injured. For this outrage Gheorghiu-Dej, as the strike leader, bears the responsibility. He was arrested and imprisoned for 12 years for his part in the strike of 1933.

For Gheorghiu-Dej the great moment of "deliverance" came in the summer of 1944 when the Red army crossed into Rumania. On August 13, 1944, 10 days before the coup d'etat which brought Rumania on the Allied side of the war, Gheorghiu-Dej was released from prison, a gesture, it was said, to placate the Soviet Union. A few months later, Gheorghiu-Dej, who was one of the leaders of some 1,000 Communists in the nation and who was wholly reliable as far as Moscow was concerned, was taken into the Government as Minister of Communications.

From this period until early 1948, Rumania was gradually reduced from the status of an independent nation to a full-fledged satellite of the Soviet Union. In bringing about this forced transition Gheorghiu-Dej played a role of major importance. In fact, as secretary general of the Rumanian Communist Party and by holding such posts in the Government as President of the Supreme Economic Council, Minister of National Economy, President of the State Planning Commission, and First Vice Premier, Gheorghiu-Dej was a prime mover in imposing communism on Rumania.

By the end of 1947 the Communists had taken Rumania well along the way to complete sovietization. Economic, political, and religious freedoms were vanishing fast; and the only barrier left for the establishment of a People's Republic along the Soviet pattern was the presence of King Michael. This last obstacle was removed on December 30, 1947.

After the forced abdication of the King, Gheorghiu-Dej and his Communist colleagues imposed upon Rumanians greater demands for adherence to the Soviet model so that before long Rumania was transformed into a full-fledged Soviet satellite.

As a key Government leader, First Vice Premier (April 1948-June 1952), and Premier (June 1952-October 1955), Gheorghiu-Dej was an effective agent in doing the bidding of Moscow.

Gheorghiu-Dej has fulfilled his role as an obedient and unquestioning agent for Moscow with uncommon skill, effectiveness, and loyalty. Regarded as a "Moscow favorite," he has received the award coveted among world Communists, the Soviet "Hammer and Sickle" medal.

Gheorghiu-Dej is well aware of the extent to which his rule depends upon the attitude of the Kremlin. Despite the promised removal of Soviet troops from Rumanian soil, the presence of Soviet armed forces on the Soviet-Rumanian border will continue to shape domestic developments inside Communist Rumania. On the other hand, the interests of the Kremlin and of Communist leadership in Rumania are so interwoven that Moscow need not fear the loyalty of its agent in Bucharest.

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES WHAT IT IS—WHAT IT DOES

In July 1958, the committee issued a 21-page booklet entitled "The House Committee on Un-American Activities: What It Is—What It Does."⁷ In a series of 73 questions and answers, this booklet sets forth the basic facts concerning the committee and its operations which are most frequently the subject of inquiries on the part of the public.

After explaining the makeup of the committee and its duties and listing the House committees which preceded it in the field of investigating subversion, this booklet points out that—

Bills have been introduced in the House of Representatives relating to 80 recommendations made by the committee. All but 2 of these bills have been offered since 1949;

Congress has adopted legislation embracing 35 recommendations made by the committee;

Twenty-six bills relating to matters covered by recommendations of the committee were pending in the 85th Congress at the time the booklet was published.

In addition to explaining the committee's day-to-day activities—how it obtains evidence and witnesses for hearings, how it accumulates and uses material contained in its files, and the manner in which it keeps hearing records—the booklet describes the procedures by which contempt of Congress is and can be punished, the rights and duties of witnesses before the committee, and the privileges accorded those named by witnesses. It points out the importance of the committee's watchdog duties, that is, its obligation to oversee the administration and operation of the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Communist Control Act of 1954, the Foreign Agents Registration Act, and similar laws closely related to the problem of subversion and security.

The foreword to the booklet quotes from "Congressional Government," a book by President Woodrow Wilson, on this point:

It is the proper duty of a representative body to look diligently into every affair of government and to talk much about what it sees. It is meant to be the eyes and the voice, and to embody the wisdom and will of its constituents. Unless Congress have and use every means of acquainting itself with

⁷ See "The House Committee on Un-American Activities—What It Is—What It Does," July 1958.

the acts and the disposition of the administrative agents of the government, the country must be helpless to learn how it is being served; and unless Congress both scrutinize these things and sift them by every form of discussion, the country must remain in embarrassing, crippling ignorance of the very affairs which it is most important that it should understand and direct. The informing function of Congress should be preferred even to its legislative function.

The concluding questions and answers of the booklet contain information on such basic subjects as the nature and function of Communist fronts and fellow travelers; explains the Communist Party line, the basic strategy of the Communist Party today, the dangers presented by it, and the objectives of the Communist attack in the field of national security. On this point, it says:

The objective is the creation of a general climate of opinion against the disclosure and punishment of subversion. To attain that objective, the Communists work for the abolition of congressional committees which investigate subversive activities, and for the restriction of the FBI in the same area. They also work for the elimination of all loyalty programs designed to protect the security of the United States.

PATTERNS OF COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE

In this analytical study⁸ of Communist espionage as carried on under diplomatic cover, the committee revealed 12 cases of very recent spy activity never before made public in this country. Eight of them involved Communist diplomats stationed in the United States. The remaining cases revealed how Communist governments are taking advantage of trips made to Iron Curtain countries by U.S. citizens with relatives behind the Iron Curtain, to try to induce or blackmail these people into serving in their espionage network.

In none of these cases was any American induced to serve Moscow by simple persuasion. It was only by blackmail, by threatening to take reprisals against the mothers, fathers, and other close relatives of American citizens still living behind the Iron Curtain, that Soviet agents succeeded in extracting information from any of the persons they contacted.

The study contained a review of the testimony of former Iron Curtain diplomats and agents and officers of the Communists secret police who have defected and chosen freedom. This review disclosed that all have sworn, on the basis of firsthand knowledge of Communist espionage operations, that Soviet embassies, consulates, trade and similar missions are used as legal covers for Communist spy rings. It also revealed that Communist diplomats and members of Communist missions sent to the free world are often trained MVD or military intelligence agents whose primary function here is not diplomatic but spy activity.

The report also reviewed the actual record of Iron Curtain diplomats in the United States. It named 28 Communist diplomatic and U.N. representatives who had been expelled from the United States for espionage, had engaged in spying while in this country although not

⁸ See "Patterns of Communist Espionage," Committee on Un-American Activities, January 1959.

expelled for doing so, or who had been identified as MVD or military intelligence agents by former members of the Communist secret police.

The report further revealed how Moscow frames U.S. diplomats on trumped-up charges of espionage and declares them persona non grata in retaliation for U.S. expulsion of Iron Curtain diplomats stationed in this country who have actually been caught in spy activity. Also highlighted in the report was the serious security problem faced by U.S. diplomatic establishments in Iron Curtain countries because of Moscow's widespread use of wiretapping, hidden microphones, and similar devices to record even the private conversations of U.S. diplomatic personnel within their own embassies. It also pointed out that large numbers of Soviet citizens, all under the control of the Communist secret police, are employed in U.S. embassies and legations behind the Iron Curtain and have the duty of reporting to the MVD everything they can learn about the character, habits, conversations, and personal lives of American embassy personnel. The extent to which the Kremlin uses sex and physical attraction in its attempts to blackmail free world diplomats stationed behind the Iron Curtain was also brought out in the report.

In pointing up another vital element affecting the security of the United States, the report brought out the following facts:

There are 442 adult Soviet citizens stationed in the United States with official cover of one kind or another who can be used for espionage purposes. This is more than five times the number of U.S. citizens serving in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow;

While the United States had only 258 American citizens attached to its embassies or legations in six Communist-bloc nations in 1958, those nations had 468 of their own citizens attached to their embassies or legations in this country;

In addition, these same Communist nations had 364 of their nationals employed by U.S. diplomatic missions behind the Iron Curtain, while their embassies and legations in the United States employed only 10 U.S. nationals.

This condition, the report stated, compromised this Nation's defense against Communist espionage both at home and abroad.

The possibility of this country gaining greatly increased knowledge of Communist spy operations and of breaking up Soviet espionage rings within its borders was indicated by the testimony of former MVD agents. These one-time spies for Moscow described the great fear of returning to the Soviet Union which exists in the ranks of the MVD and the desire of many of its agents to make a break for freedom. They expressed almost unanimous opinion that many Communist spies would defect if encouraged, and given the opportunity, to do so.

On the basis of the facts contained in the report, the committee made the following recommendations:

If the Communist onslaught against our free institutions and way of life is to be successfully repelled, it is urgently necessary that this country make an immediate and exhaustive study and review of all U.S. laws, regulations, and policies pertaining to the following matters:

(1) Prerequisites to admission into the United States of persons of diplomatic and semidiplomatic status.

(2) Acts which constitute grounds for revocation of diplomatic and residence status of foreign embassy, consular, U.N., and similar personnel.

(3) The development and constant use by the United States and its allies (with whom we exchange secrets) of techniques for learning, through all possible sources of information, the identity of known operatives of the MVD and Communist military intelligence services.

(4) The employment of nationals of Communist nations in U.S. diplomatic establishments abroad.

CHAPTER IV

CONSULTATIONS

In October 1956, a committee staff consultation was held with eight persons who had specialized knowledge of the Red satellite nations of Eastern Europe and the potentiality of revolt in them. Since that time 19 consultations, including the testimony of 36 recognized authorities on various phases of communism, have been published by the committee. Ten of these consultations, in which fifteen expert witnesses took part, were published by the committee in 1958.

These consultations have been most favorably received by the American public and by the people of other nations as well. Demand for a number of them was so great that the committee's supply was quickly exhausted and thousands of requests for additional copies had to go unfilled.

Outstanding in this respect was the May 1957 consultation with Dr. Frederick Charles Schwarz entitled, "The Communist Mind."

The Allen-Bradley Co. of Milwaukee, Wis., reproduced this consultation in a full 2-page advertisement which was published in 30 U.S. newspapers with a total circulation of over 7½ million in all parts of the country. To date, the company has also filled requests from persons and groups in foreign nations, as well as in this country, for over 500,000 reprints of the ad, sending up to 25 copies free to individuals and unlimited quantities to schools and churches. It has also given permission to church, patriotic, and educational organizations to reproduce the ad and a considerable number of them have done so. A number of other corporations have reproduced the consultation in booklet form for distribution to their employees. State units of the American Legion have placed the ad in additional newspapers and distributed thousands of copies to their members. The consultation has been translated into Chinese and dropped onto the Red China mainland by the Chinese Nationalist Air Force. It has also been translated into Spanish, Malayán, and the language of the Communist-controlled State of Kerala in India.

During the year 1958 the committee published the following consultations:

THE COMMUNIST PROGRAM FOR WORLD CONQUEST

GEN. ALBERT C. WEDEMEYER

January 21, 1958

The United States is losing the cold war. Communism is steadily gaining strength, not only in the military field, but also in the field of scientific development, General Wedemeyer told the committee.¹

¹ See "The Communist Program for World Conquest," Consultation with Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, U.S. Army, Committee on Un-American Activities, Jan. 21, 1958.

Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer is a graduate of West Point, the Army Staff School at Fort Leavenworth and was for 2 years (1936-38) a student at the German War College in Berlin, where he met many Nazi leaders. Jodl, who later became Hitler's strategic adviser, was one of General Wedemeyer's instructors, and other top-ranking Nazi military officers were his classmates. It was his contact with these people that impelled him to begin his study of various "isms"—communism, nazism, and fascism—which were influencing many of the world's people at the time.

General Wedemeyer served with the War Plans Division of the U.S. General Staff in Washington where he helped prepare Allied strategy for World War II. He attended the major wartime conferences—London, Washington, Casablanca, Cairo, and Quebec. In September 1943, he was assigned to the Southeast Asia Command. In 1944, he relieved Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell as commander of the China-Burma-India Theater. In 1946, General Wedemeyer, after agreeing to serve as U.S. Ambassador to China, returned to the United States in preparation for assuming his post there. His appointment was dropped, however, when word of it leaked to the Chinese Reds and they objected to it. The general is the author of the recently published book, "Wedemeyer Reports!"

The Soviet Union, he said, does not want a shooting war because it is achieving its objectives without open warfare. The United States is losing the cold war because of a lack of adequate objectives and of complete devotion to such objectives as it has.

Sound strategy is the use of all of a nation's resources to obtain its objectives. These resources fall into four general types—political, economic, psychological, and military. If the first three are used intelligently, a nation will never have to resort to the fourth.

The Soviet Union, General Wedemeyer said, is making most effective use of its economic and psychological resources, while the free world is not. As an example, he cited the cases of United States and Soviet aid to Egypt. A number of years ago Egypt tried to buy wheat, which it needed badly for its people, from the United States. It could not get a definite answer from the United States as to whether or not the wheat would be made available for purchase. Although the negotiations were secret, the Soviet Union learned about them. It then offered wheat to Egypt with no strings attached. Egypt naturally took the wheat.

The Soviet Union then saw to it that the story of its assistance to Egypt—and the failure of the United States to make wheat available—was made known to the people of Egypt. In this way, Moscow built up, and the United States lost, much good will in that country.

General Wedemeyer warned that the Soviet Union has the initiative in all fields today and that it will continue to enjoy success until the United States takes intelligent, coordinated action against it on all fronts. It is now very late, but the situation is not hopeless if this country gets direction from responsible leaders.

The strategy of the Soviet Union, General Wedemeyer said, is the same as that used by all good military commanders from time immemorial. It bypasses the West's strong points and probes for and exploits its weak points, relying primarily on its nonmilitary resources.

The U.S.S.R. cannot depend on its satellites in the event of war. For this reason the free world should use two means to encourage defection from communism and win people on both sides of the Iron Curtain to its side. First, it should make clear to the world its sincere desire for peace and its determination to protect the freedom of, and to promote opportunity for, all people. Second, it should make clear that it is determined to use all its resources to destroy communism or any other "ism" that threatens world peace.

It may well be that the free world's best hope is the enslaved peoples, and that encouraging revolutions against communism on their part may be the answer to its problems. He pointed out, however, that the failure of the free world to go to the aid of the Hungarian people in their fight for freedom has done much to discourage rebellion against Communist rule. The general said:

* * * And as this revolutionary movement in Hungary progressed, I asked myself, where are the Kosciuskos, the Pulaskis, and the Lafayettes of this or of any other free country? When we were fighting for our freedom here in America, those patriots came to our shores, endured hardships, and experienced dangers to help us attain our liberty. Why didn't some American general, or a military leader from England or France, go to the Hungarians and offer his services? There was not one professional military man like

myself who made himself available. Why am I not willing to take risks and to experience hardships as did the men who fought so gallantly and selflessly shoulder to shoulder with our forefathers in this country? I am serious. I have given considerable thought to this situation. Are we real patriots? Are we dedicated to liberty? Are we getting soft?

General Wedemeyer said that U.S. aid should not be used as charity. He opposed U.S. assistance to Yugoslavia or any other nation that opposes the basic aims of the United States.

In order to win the total war in which we are engaged with the Soviet Union we must have more education on the "simple truths" about communism so the people will know the danger they face.

"Guts, courage, integrity, intelligence must characterize our defense of liberty or we'll lose it," General Wedemeyer said.

COMMUNIST PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE (BRAINWASHING)

EDWARD HUNTER

March 13, 1958

Total war between the Communist and free worlds is now underway, Mr. Hunter warned.² The United States is the main battlefield in this war, but it is not the only one. The battle is being fought wherever there is no Red "peace"; that is, acceptance of the inevitability of a Communist world.

The weapons in this total war "range from a smile and a 'discussion meeting' to a leaflet and a bullet."

U.S. alertness to the danger of a Communist guided-missile attack, Hunter said, does not mean that the country is truly alert to the real danger that threatens it:

I wish we had alertness. We have everything except alertness to the way the Kremlin is fighting this war. We are being tremendously alert to the ways it is not fighting this war.

* * * * *

In Korea, we had atomic weapons, but lost the war and were unable to use those weapons because of a political and psychological climate created by the Communists. The Kremlin today is fighting total war, and this means total, not with weapons of physical destruction alone, but mental destruction, too. The new weapons are for conquest intact, of peoples and cities. The future Pearl Harbor sputnik will be used if the situation demands it. But not unless the Kremlin has first succeeded in conquering the character and

² See "Communist Psychological Warfare (Brainwashing)," Consultation with Edward Hunter, Committee on Un-American Activities Mar. 13, 1958.

Edward Hunter, journalist, editor, specialist in propaganda warfare, and authority on Communist brainwashing techniques, is the author of "Brainwashing in Red China," "Brainwashing—the Story of Men Who Defied It," "The Story of Mary Liu," and "The Black Book on Red China." During the last 30 years, he has served as an editor and reporter for various newspapers in the United States, Europe, Japan, and China. He accompanied the League of Nations mission in Manchuria and saw the coronation of Emperor Pu-yi as ruler of the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo. During the 1930's, he also observed the Reichstag Fire trial, two civil wars in Spain, and covered the conquest of Ethiopia. Returning to the United States, he played a leading role in the ouster of Communists from control of the American Newspaper Guild. During World War II, he served with the OSS in the China-Burma-India Theater as a propaganda specialist. Since World War II, he has served as a roving correspondent in Asia, covering Communist struggles in Malaya and Indochina, and has also worked in Japan, Indonesia, and Burma. He has recently completed a year of travel and observation in Afghanistan.

minds of a large enough element of the American people so that it will be fitting itself into the desires and needs of the Communist apparatus, no matter whether they think of themselves as Red or anti-Communist.

After stating that the first battles in communism's total war have already been won by its forces in the United States and that these victories have been identical to those they have previously won in all countries they have taken over, Mr. Hunter added:

I spent 30 years, a little bit more perhaps, in countries under various forms of Communist pressure and attack. What I am witnessing in America is no different from what I saw in those other countries. I am often referred to as someone who has made phenomenal predictions that proved correct on things to come. Actually, I have never made a prediction as such in my life. I have only predicted in the manner that one predicts the total of 4 after seeing the figures 2 plus 2.

I have been watching developments under communism in other parts of the world, and now I see exactly the same developments here in America.

These developments, he continued—

include, first of all, the penetration of our leadership circles by a softening up and creating a defeatist state of mind. This includes penetration of our educational circles by a similar state of mind, in addition to one other thing—the long-range perspective of the professor who is above anything that is happening here and now, and considers himself as an objective spectator in a long, long vista of history.

* * * They have succeeded in making the United States think and talk of a coexistence period as if that were an end itself; while in other parts of the world, as in India, the Reds frankly explain that this coexistence is merely intended to give the Americans an easy way to choose their road toward communism.

This is strategy. The Kremlin is merely giving the United States a choice of surrendering by voluntary change of attitude, to avoid more destructive ways of surrender. Unfortunately, in the United States, large elements, mainly among our non-Communist population, have been softened up into believing that if we can just stall on this situation, it will take care of itself. The Reds have succeeded in inducing business communities to look to Soviet trade as a means of restoring prosperity. Large business elements, with all their financial and other resources, are now being used to help the Communist objective of softening up America for recognition and acceptance of Red China, for instance.

The reason for the Soviet Union's emphasis on the psychological and other nonmilitary forms of warfare was given by Mr. Hunter in these words:

War has changed its form. The Communists have discovered that a man killed by a bullet is useless. He can dig no coal. They have discovered that a demolished city is

useless. Its mills produce no cloth. The objective of Communist warfare is to capture intact the minds of the people and their possessions, so they can be put to use. This is the modern conception of slavery, that puts all others in the kindergarten age.

As an example of what he called the manner in which the American people have been softened up for an eventual acceptance of slavery, Mr. Hunter cited official statistics on the conduct of American prisoners of war in Korea:

A total of 7,190 Americans were captured. Of these, 6,656 were Army troops, 263 were airmen, 231 marines, 40 Navy men.

In every war in American history some men have managed to escape. Korea was the exception.

Roughly one of every three American prisoners collaborated with the Communists in some way, either as informers or as propagandists.

In the 20 prison camps, 2,730 of the 7,190 Americans died, the highest mortality rate among prisoners in U.S. history. Many of them died unnecessarily. They either did not know how to take care of themselves or they just lay down and quit. Some sick or wounded died of malnutrition, abandoned by their comrades.

Discipline among Americans was almost nonexistent. It was a case of dog eat dog for food, cigarettes, blankets, clothes.

For the first time in history Americans—21 of them—swallowed the enemy's propaganda line and declined to return to their own people.

A part of Mr. Hunter's statement before this committee indicated not only his opinion, but also that of many other authorities on communism, in regard to the present cultural exchange program now being carried out between this country and the Soviet Union:

American students, professors, and businessmen who wander through Red countries, in the eyes of the people there, confirm the Communist propaganda line that there is no hope; that the free world, especially America, the symbol of the free world, has given in to the Reds. That was the Communist purpose at the much-publicized Bandung Conference, when the Asian and African countries met. The broadcasts to the people of China by the Peking regime stressed that all this proved that the outside world had recognized that Red China is here to stay. Any time an American student walks down a street in Red China, he is conveying one message to the silenced people who see him, and that is, "Don't look to the outside world, don't look to America, for help in your hour of need. We have let you down. We are betraying you." There is no hate so fierce as the hate of a friend who feels he has been betrayed, and that is the theme of the whole world Communist propaganda program today; to convince the people inside communism, who hate it, that we have betrayed them, while convincing

the people outside of the Communist world, principally in America, that there is a future for what they call, in their doubletalk, coexistence.

In his consultation with the committee, Mr. Hunter outlined the various techniques used by Communists in brainwashing individuals, groups, and captive populations. He also told what must be done to counteract these techniques:

The world situation has created the need for a conscious extension of the sort of training we give Boy Scouts, for example. They are taught what to do when lost in the woods. Our pilots are taught the same survival methods, so they know what berries can poison them or keep them alive. We simply have to extend that nowadays to teaching a man what to do when lost in an ideological jungle, giving him what I call "mental survival stamina." No longer is it sufficient for him to just enjoy the privileges of a free society. He must learn what constitutes freedom, and the pitfalls that destroy it. * * *

The most important elements of mental survival stamina are faith and convictions. I never expected this to be questioned. After all, my information came out of the experiences of the brainwashed themselves. Yet there has been a most peculiar resentment of that finding. I believe this is the most significant of my discoveries for Americans, for it reveals a national vulnerability that has crept into our character, which it is the responsibility of every one of our citizens to help remove.

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN CANADA

MILAN JAKUBEC

April 3, 1958

The Soviet Union makes an annual profit of about \$100 million from the free world on the sale of parcels for delivery behind the Iron Curtain, Mr. Jakubec asserted.³

He pointed out that in Canada the customs duties and fees on these parcels average 150 to 175 percent of their actual cost. These fees are collected in Canada and retained there to finance Communist activity in that country. The rather unusual arrangement whereby fees for the packages are collected in Canada is due to Soviet insistence. When the U.S.S.R. made it possible for packages to be sent into its territory from the free world, it insisted upon such an arrangement as the price of delivery. Mr. Jakubec pointed out that there is no

³ See "International Communism (Communist Propaganda Activities in Canada)," Consultation with Milan Jakubec, Committee on Un-American Activities, Apr. 3, 1958.

Milan Jakubec is president of the Mutual Co-operation League of Canada, an association of 18 ethnic groups representing the enslaved nations of Europe, and also head of the Slovak Legion, a veterans' organization representing persons from the same nations who fought with the French, British, and other Allied armies during World War II.

A Czech by birth, Mr. Jakubec joined that nation's army at the time of Munich when he was 16 years old. In 1940, he left Czechoslovakia and made his way to France where he joined the Czech forces fighting there. Taken prisoner by the Nazis in June of that year, he escaped 4 months later, went to England and joined the RAF. When the war ended in 1945, he was repatriated to Czechoslovakia. After 3 years of military air training there and service as a radio navigator for private airlines, he escaped to Britain where he rejoined the RAF. In 1949, he left the military service to take up his fight against communism. He was one of the founders of the Slovak Legion in England in 1950. In 1953, he left England for Canada.

guarantee that the packages are actually delivered to those for whom they are intended, although there is evidence that many of them do reach their destination. The Kremlin makes about \$20 to \$30 million annually, Mr. Jakubec estimated, through its package business from the 1½ million people in Canada who come from Soviet-bloc countries.

The Soviet Embassy in Canada publishes a "Soviet News Bulletin" which is sent to all members of Parliament and the Senate and to leading persons throughout Canada, including business executives, professors, and Government officials, as well as to many organizations. The Soviet Embassy also provides money to finance the publication and distribution of "Northern Neighbors," a strongly anti-United States propaganda publication which is being sent into the United States in considerable quantity.

Communist strength in Canada, including both party members and members of front organizations, is estimated at approximately 100,000 persons by Mr. Jakubec. The Communist Party publishes about 23 newspapers in various languages in Canada and, as a result of lack of restrictions, operates more freely there than in the United States. The organizations which Mr. Jakubec heads have advocated stronger control measures against Communist activity and the prohibition of the Communist Party in Canada, which is camouflaged under the name of the Labor Progressive Party.

Communist agents have infiltrated Canada from the satellite countries of Eastern Europe as displaced persons and refugees. Their purpose is not so much to commit espionage as to destroy various anti-Communist refugee and exile groups whose members, on the basis of firsthand experience, are in a position to tell the truth about communism and are doing so.

The West is losing the cold war today, in the opinion of Mr. Jakubec, and, unless a reversal takes place, it will eventually lose to the Soviet Union without a military showdown:

I am not pleased to say that the free world and its leaders are not aware of the serious situation that is facing them today. They are taking a mistaken approach to communism in general by considering it, first of all, as a military danger.

In the opinion of all those who have lived under communism, who have known its organization and operation and its plans, they are well aware that the greatest danger of communism is its ideology, devotion to its goals, and determination to reach these goals.

Western losses and Soviet gains in the cold war are due to the fact that the Communists have a definite goal, an ideology, discipline, and driving power. The free world, on the other hand, has none of these things. It not only lacks a definite goal, but appears to be merely sitting and waiting for the final blow. It is also lacking in a coordinated and disciplined movement to achieve victory.

Mr. Jakubec stated that coexistence with communism was impossible and that the Western World cannot negotiate itself out of the dilemma it is now in. He insisted that it was not spaceships or guided missiles that would decide the issues between the free and Communist worlds, but the spirit of the people of the West and their devotion to Christian moral principles.

Summit conferences, Mr. Jakubec said, are unwise:

As far as the Geneva Conference is concerned, this personifies the summit of a lack of faith of free-world leaders in the question of liberty throughout the world, and any conference which may follow the one held in Geneva in 1955, in our opinion, will be a "submit" conference for the West to the Communists who are following a twin line in every branch of their activity.

He also pointed out how Communist leaders in the Kremlin are using their new soft approach for a double purpose:

During the Geneva Conference, great pictures of a smiling President Eisenhower and Anthony Eden were enlarged on the front pages of various Communist papers, shaking hands with Bulganin and Khrushchev, showing how friendly the Western nations are with the Soviet leaders.

This was a double-edged offensive. For the Western nations it showed the willingness of the Soviet leaders for peace and friendship with the West. For the terrific majority of the people behind the Iron Curtain, it meant a death blow to their hopes in the sense of Western justice and security.

As far as the Menshikov [Soviet Ambassador to the United States] tactics are concerned, these are also directed in a twin manner, first of all to show the American people that the Communist leaders are down-to-earth, good fellows, who could be trusted and with whom we can get along. For the people behind the Iron Curtain, it only means a post mortem to any of their hopes that they might have as to the survival of freedom in the free world.

In other words, these pictures show to the leaders of our nationality groups that the Western leaders, who may not notice these realities behind such Soviet tactics, were, themselves, taken in by this Soviet propaganda and actually lent themselves in furtherance of the propaganda designs of international communism.

COMMUNIST PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE (THOUGHT CONTROL)

CONSTANTIN W. BOLDYREFF

April 7, 1958

The Soviet Union is engaged in a gigantic campaign to win the cold war by mobilizing public opinion in Western nations against the governments of those nations. Mr. Boldyreff, authority on psychological warfare, asserted.⁴ This Soviet propaganda campaign, "a totally new phenomenon" in international conflict, attempts to reach the citizens of the free world by circumventing and going over the heads of their governments. It accomplishes this by such devices as summit meetings, peace campaigns, and the like.

Mr. Boldyreff pointed out that the proclaimed goal of the free world is to preserve peace, but he questioned that this can be said to be its goal in a true sense when the West is making no real effort to eliminate the cause of today's conflicts in many parts of the world, namely communism.

The Communists' goal is to extend their control over the whole world, if possible, without resorting to war.

Because both sides do not want war there is a feeling that a settlement between the free and Communist worlds may be reached by negotiation and the outcome of the battle left to "peaceful competition."

The fallacy in this concept is that by "peace" the free world means security, law, and order. On the other hand, to the Communists peaceful competition means no bombs, but continual warfare against free nations by other means—subversion, intrigue, espionage, treason, and shooting in some cases; the dumping of products on the world market to adversely affect free world economy; the fomenting of internal revolts and then interference in them on the side of pro-Communist elements—until victory is theirs.

Communism must be engaged and defeated in Russia proper, if possible by nonmilitary means. The West, to further this objective, should capitalize on the resentment of the enslaved people of Russia, which is particularly apparent today in its intellectual classes. Rebellion behind the Iron Curtain will open the eyes of Asians to the true nature of communism and turn them against it. The Hungarian revolt had great impact on the Asian people, and an adverse effect on Soviet advances in that area.

As a result of the Hungarian revolt, the quiet Polish revolution, and similar incidents, communism is finished as an ideology, and its prestige is falling at home. For this reason, Moscow is anxious to make

⁴ See "Communist Psychological Warfare (Thought Control)," Consultation with Constantin W. Boldyreff, Committee on Un-American Activities, Apr. 7, 1958.

Constantin W. Boldyreff, a representative of the National Alliance of Russian Solidarists (NTS), was born in Russia, educated in the Russian Military Cadet Corps, and later, after escaping his home country, the University of Belgrade. His father, a lieutenant general in the Czarist Army, was shot by the Bolsheviks for organizing resistance to communism.

When the Nazis invaded Yugoslavia in 1941, Mr. Boldyreff volunteered for army service and was captured by the Germans when that country fell. He managed to escape while being transported to an internment camp in Germany and went to Poland and Russia, where he fought underground against both the Germans and the Communists. In 1945, he was again captured by the Nazis, placed in a concentration camp, and again escaped. He then joined the American forces and was placed in charge of displaced persons in Thuringia, Germany, by the U.S. Military Government.

Mr. Boldyreff came to the United States in 1947 and 2 years later joined the faculty of Georgetown University. After teaching there for 6 years, he resigned to concentrate on anti-Communist research and activity. He joined NTS in 1930, the year it was formed in Yugoslavia. NTS is an organization dedicated to the overthrow of communism in the Soviet Union and the establishment of a democratic regime there.

deals on the outside in order to bolster its prestige. Mr. Boldyreff cited as an example the recent agreement between the Soviet Union and Egypt, whose ruler, Nasser, is an anti-Communist. Nasser's anti-communism, he said, is not known to the people of the U.S.S.R. but his deal with the Soviet Government has been well publicized there. In addition, because Nasser is a nationalist, his friendship with the U.S.S.R. is very helpful to the Soviet Union in the anticolonial nations of Asia and Africa.

The United States should not go to a summit meeting with the rulers of the Soviet Union or negotiate with them at all, unless it is sure that in doing so it will be able to inflict a crushing defeat on communism.

The cultural exchange program, as it is presently operated, is working to the advantage of the Soviet Union and injuring the free world.

The failure of the West to help the Hungarian freedom fighters has alienated the Western World from its true, reliable allies behind the Iron Curtain. A great and, if necessary, "unconventional" effort should be made to reach these people and win back their confidence. This would have a threefold effect:

(a) Relieved from the fear of foreign invasion, assured that no deal could ever be made by the United States and its tyrants behind its back, the Russian people will intensify its pressure on the Kremlin gang.

(b) A greater feeling of security will develop in Europe and its resistance will strengthen as a result of growing unrest behind the Iron Curtain.

(c) These signs of obvious rejection of communism by those who live under its yoke will cause the people of Asia to recoil from the false Red champions of Asia's independence.

It is particularly important that the free world make it clear to the Russian people that it is out to destroy communism and not Russia as a nation, Mr. Boldyreff said:

* * * Russia is a great nation. Her people are conscious of their country's might and wealth. They also know that might and wealth provoke fear and jealousy. So in addition to the two opposing factors—"we" (the people) and "they" (the Communist tyrants)—there is another element—the fearful great unknown—the Western World. The Russian people realize that through its aggressive policies the Soviet Government has antagonized the entire world. Instinctively they feel that the free world's hatred of communism has gradually waxed into hatred of Russia and everything Russian. This feeling of suspicion, of apprehension of the free world's ultimate designs, I have found to be common in varying degrees to practically every single Soviet citizen with whom I recently had a chance to talk. This misconception must be removed at all cost. This should become one of the foremost objectives of the free world.

COMMUNIST ENCROACHMENT IN THE FAR EAST

MAJ. GEN. CLAIRE LEE CHENNAULT

APRIL 28, 1958

The Communist world threat is so critical and the hour so late that "only a reversal of today's passive policies toward the Reds by the remaining non-Communist nations can save freedom," the late General Chennault told the committee in his last public statement on world affairs:⁵

We could never win by the defensive or negotiating, or compromising or appeasing. We have to take the offensive to win.

Communism is making great gains in the Far East and could take over certain areas of Asia today. It is not doing so only because it first wants to bleed the United States financially through the aid this country is now giving certain Asian nations in its efforts to keep them from falling to communism:

The Communists much prefer to avoid war * * * they want to get the small minority of the population of the country to set up a Communist government, and then they move in to set up a strong government.

"Communist infiltrators are seating themselves in places of power in every level of our society and every organization we have," General Chennault declared.

He said the Soviet Union will never start a shooting war unless it is actually invaded or the destruction of the Communist ideology is threatened.

Like many others who have appeared before the committee, General Chennault expressed concern over the apathy of the people of this country in the face of the Communist threat. When asked if he believed that the American people realized the seriousness of the present situation, he replied:

No, they certainly do not. I have talked to many groups all over the United States—the West, the North, East, and South—and they do not realize the serious threat to our way of life and our way of government. They do not realize that communism means destruction of everything we hold dear.

⁵ See "International Communism (Communist Encroachment in the Far East)," Consultation with Maj. Gen. Claire Lee Chennault, U.S.A., Committee on Un-American Activities, Apr. 23, 1958.

Maj. Gen. Claire Lee Chennault was originally commissioned in the Infantry Reserve in 1917. He served in the Signal Corps aviation section for a time and was commissioned in the Army Air Corps when it was established in 1920. He served there for 17 years until retired for deafness.

In May 1937, as an adviser to Mme. Chiang Kai-shek, General Chennault went to China to make a survey of the combat effectiveness of the Chinese Air Force. When Japan attacked China, he volunteered to stay for as long as he was needed and was requested to remain as a military adviser to the Government.

In 1940, he returned to the United States, bought 100 planes here and organized his famous Flying Tigers, which was known technically as the American Volunteer Group of the Chinese Air Force and which played a major role in the China war. In 1942, General Chennault was recalled to active duty with the U.S. Air Force and commanded successively the American Volunteer Group, the China Air Task Force, and the 14th Air Force.

In 1945, he returned to the United States to retire again from active military service. At the end of that year, he went back to China to assist that country's rehabilitation and recovery effort. He formed a civil airline which carried relief goods into the interior and served as the air arm of the Chinese Nationalist Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, evacuating thousands of people from Communist-threatened territory in the north. When UNRRA's work in China was completed, he changed the name of his company to the Civil Air Transport and operated it as a commercial airline. After the Communist takeover of China in 1949, General Chennault continued to operate his airline around the perimeter of the Bamboo Curtain, from Japan to Seoul, Okinawa, Formosa, the Philippines, Hong Kong, and Bangkok.

You cannot convince them. People don't want to know. They don't want to be worried about it.

One element in the treachery of the Chinese Communists during World War II was revealed by General Chennault in his consultation:

When the provincial governors of China met in Nanking in 1937 and demanded that Chiang Kai-shek go to war against Japan, Chiang said he was not yet prepared to do so and asked for a year's grace. The governors then threatened to withdraw from the Government, and Chiang agreed to go to war immediately if they would all pledge allegiance to the Nationalist Government. This they did. The Communists, however, observed their pledge for just a year or two and then turned their guns on Government troops which were fighting the Japanese.

General Chennault also revealed how the Chinese Communists created the false impression that U.S. military aid to the Nationalist Government was wasted because the weapons ended up in the hands of the Reds.

Actually, the Russians had turned over to the Communists in Manchuria a stockpile of munitions estimated to be sufficient to last a million soldiers for 10 years. It was with these weapons that the Communists started their drive from Manchuria to take over all of China:

* * * As they came south, they continued to use that stuff but they used captured stuff also. In that way, they got hold of a lot of U.S. munitions, and when they took a city, they took the leading elements armed with U.S. weapons into the city first. It was thus propagandized throughout the world that the Nationalist troops sold out to them. Actually, a small percentage of their total arms was of American manufacture.

As one of his suggestions for turning the tide of the cold war, General Chennault proposed the division of the free world into several areas, with a U.S. representative in each one who would work with the native leader or leaders, would have complete charge of the entire U.S. aid program (military, economic, and other) in the region, and thus would be able to keep the program in balance and avoid the allocation of too much money or effort to any one phase of it.

He also said that, in administering the aid program, much greater effort must be made on the part of U.S. representatives to make real contact with the people of the countries receiving our assistance:

* * * Our people stop at the level of colonel or general or minister in that country.

When the Communists send in aid, they start down at the grassroots. They contact people and make friends, doing it on all the levels. It is an entirely different approach.

General Chennault expressed doubt that the United States and the free world could ever negotiate themselves out of conflict with international communism. Another summit conference would only deepen the despair of people already enslaved by communism.

Even worse consequences would follow, he declared, if the free world were to admit Red China into the United Nations:

It would mean taking over of all of the Far East by the Communists. We would pull back our efforts to Hawaii and the west coast. The people in the Far East are sitting on a fence watching; and whenever we show signs of weakness, many of them immediately fall off on the Communist side. If we recognize Red China, there will just be an avalanche. They would all go Red. They could not resist it.

WHAT IS BEHIND THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A SUMMIT CONFERENCE?

DR. DAVID J. DALLIN
DR. ANTHONY T. BOUSCAREN
DR. JAMES D. ATKINSON
FRANCIS J. McNAMARA

April 30, 1958

Four eminent authorities on international communism⁶ warned against another summit conference with the leaders of the Soviet Union. They listed the following motivations for the Kremlin demand that another such conference be held:

(1) To avoid attempts to settle major differences between the Communist and free worlds in the U.N. because (a) the U.S.S.R. has recently been losing propaganda debates in that organization, and (b) the U.N. today is "old hat" and does not have the publicity value it once had as a propaganda forum.

(2) To avoid normal diplomatic channels because it wants to make a propaganda splurge and there is no opportunity to do so through such channels, although they are actually the best means for obtaining positive results if there is sincerity on both sides.

(3) To play the role of the most dynamic force in the world today, the initiator of far-reaching moves for peace.

(4) To disarm the West psychologically by convincing it that the Soviet Union truly wants peace and disarmament, that Soviet power is no cause for alarm, that everything can be settled by talk, and that peaceful coexistence is truly possible (i.e., there are no irreconcilable

⁶ See "What Is Behind the Soviet Proposal for a Summit Conference?" Consultation with Dr. David J. Dallin, Dr. Anthony T. Bouscaren, Dr. James D. Atkinson, Francis J. McNamara, Committee on Un-American Activities, Apr. 30, 1958.

Dr. Dallin, author and lecturer, is one of the outstanding authorities on the Soviet Union in the United States. He was born in Russia and educated at St. Petersburg University. A resident of the United States for 18 years and now a U.S. citizen, he is the author of "The Changing World of Soviet Russia," "Soviet Espionage," "Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy," "Russia and Postwar Europe," "The Big Three—The United States, Britain, and Russia," "The Real Soviet Russia," "Soviet Russia and the Far East," "The Rise of Russia in Asia," and "The New Soviet Empire."

Dr. Bouscaren, associate professor of political science at Marquette University, is the author of "Soviet Expansion and the West," "Imperial Communism," "America Faces World Communism," and "A Guide to Anti-Communist Action." He has lectured at the National War College and leading U.S. universities. A major in the Marine Corps Reserve, he received a Christopher Award in 1952 and the Freedom Foundation Award in 1958.

Dr. Atkinson, a member of the faculty of Georgetown University since 1946, was director of a special course in psychological warfare at that university's graduate school from 1950 to 1954. He has served as a consultant to the Psychological Strategy Board, the Operations Research Office and the U.S. Army and has lectured at Army, Navy, and Marine Corps service schools. During World War II, he served in the European Theater in military intelligence. He is a trustee of the American Military Institute.

Mr. McNamara, former editor of the anti-Communist newsletter "Counterattack," writer, and lecturer, has also served as national director of anti-Communist activities for the Veterans of Foreign Wars and edited its newsletter on communism, "The Guardpost for Freedom." For the past 5 years, he has been vice chairman of the All-American Conference to Combat Communism. During World War II, he was an intelligence officer in the China-Burma-India Theater.

elements between the free and Communist worlds. All differences can be negotiated. By implication, this means that Moscow does not believe in forcible overthrow of free governments).

(5) To convince the world that the Kremlin's leaders are "reasonable" men, that they can be trusted, and that lasting, amicable agreement with them is possible.

(6) To achieve an aura of legitimacy and respectability in the eyes of the world. A summit conference tends to give this to them and to add to the stability of their regime.

(7) To create the impression among the enslaved peoples that the free world recognizes the legitimacy of Soviet control of its entire empire, including the satellites; to convince these people that the free world has abandoned them and thus crush their spirit of resistance and hope of winning freedom.

(8) To give encouragement to their followers in all parts of the world. The first summit conference was actually held in response to an intense and prolonged Communist agitation and propaganda drive. It was a victory for communism. A second summit meeting, demanded by Communists in all parts of the world, would be another victory for them and a symbol of their great power and influence.

The four specialists on international communism also quoted official reports to the effect that the first summit conference of 1955 had disastrous results for the United States and the free world because it promoted apathy and neutralism in Europe and Asia and thereby weakened NATO, SEATO, and the whole free world defense effort. They also warned of the danger inherent in any U.S. agreement to halt the testing of nuclear weapons and to giving in to Communist proposals for "disengagement," that is, the withdrawal of the U.S. and Soviet forces from certain areas in Europe.

The following major steps were proposed to change the course of the cold war and bring victory to the free world:

(1) The United States must increase its military power until it has a force second to none in the entire world.

(2) The people should stop talking about reductions in taxes and make up their minds to tighten their belts and put even greater effort into the fight against communism on all levels.

(3) A much more effective and hard-hitting propaganda program must be devised.

(4) The will to resist communism must be strengthened. The American people must stop being escapists and face the fact that there can be no real peace while Communist power remains in the world.

(5) The free world must switch from the defensive to the offensive.

(6) It must place all possible pressure on the Soviet empire, feed the discontent that exists within it, and aid anti-Communist underground movements, thus weakening Communist power.

(7) An effective education program designed to give the people of the free world an understanding of the true nature of communism and the hard facts of life in today's world must be undertaken.

(8) There should be no further concessions to the Soviet Union.

(9) The United States should reward its allies and stop giving as much help to neutralists and appeasers as it does to those who stand firmly against Communist aggression.

(10) The United States must make it clear to the entire world that it is on the side of the peoples enslaved by communism and that it will do what it can to help them.

COMMUNIST STRATEGY OF PROTRACTED CONFLICT

DR. ROBERT STRAUZS-HUPÉ

ALVIN J. COTTRELL

JAMES E. DOUGHERTY

May 20, 1958

This country faces many years of tension and conflict with the Soviet Union, with the possibility of all-out war steadily increasing if the Kremlin continues to make territorial and power gains, three political scientists⁷ told the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The three political scientists flatly rejected the frequently advanced theory that Communists are following a "limited war" strategy in their efforts to seize control of the world.

Dr. Robert Strausz-Hupé stated:

The Communist strategy never has been, and is not now, a strategy of limited war such as that which has preoccupied many Western writers in recent years.

Rather, it is a strategy of "protracted conflict." He continued:

The strategy of protracted conflict prescribes the annihilation of the opponent by a long series of carefully calibrated operations, by feints and maneuvers, by psychological and economic warfare, and by diverse forms of violence * * *. It encompasses all known forms of violent and nonviolent conflict techniques, and fuses them into a weapons spectrum which begins on the left with the seemingly most innocuous political activities, such as the clandestine distribution of leaflets, and terminates on the right end of the spectrum with the megaton bomb.

The steady gains made by the forces of communism over the free world in the last 12 years were attributed by Dr. Strausz-Hupé and his two institute associates to the fact that the Communists have a distinct advantage in their protracted conflict strategy, which is an "organic scheme of conflict," integrating all phases of their activity, political, economic, military, etc., toward the one major goal they seek. As far as the Communists are concerned, Dr. Strausz-Hupé said:

There is no difference between cold and hot war. There is no essential difference between military and political means. They are all instruments of conflict, leading to the same objective of power accumulation.

Mr. Dougherty said that study had convinced those at the institute that Communist psychological warfare was based on very careful analysis of Western psychology. This analysis, he said, was based

⁷ See "Communist Strategy of Protracted Conflict," Consultation with Dr. Robert Strausz-Hupé, Alvin J. Cottrell, James E. Dougherty, Committee on Un-American Activities, May 20, 1958.

Dr. Strausz-Hupé is director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute of the University of Pennsylvania, editor of "Orbis," the institute's quarterly on world affairs, and also professor of political science at the university. A lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Army Reserve, he is the author of "The Russian-German Riddle," "Axis-America," "Geopolitics," "The Balance of Tomorrow," "International Relations," and "The Zone of Indifference."

Mr. Cottrell is an instructor in political science at the University of Pennsylvania, a research fellow at its Foreign Policy Research Institute, and a member of the editorial staff of "Orbis."

Mr. Dougherty is an assistant professor of political science at St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, and a research fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania.

in turn on the studies of Pavlov, the Russian physiologist who found that the behavior of animals could be conditioned by the application of certain stimuli and that the same is true, to some extent, of human beings.

The major aim of the Communists in their psychological warfare, Mr. Dougherty said, is to engage in numerous conflicts of all kinds with the West, but never to give the West the kind of stimulus that would rouse it to vigorous counteraction. He stated that this is a lesson the Communists learned in Korea. Today, instead of engaging in direct and overt aggression, they resort to indirect attacks, using others as their pawns, and to other offenses and insults which, while irritating, will only arouse the West to action that "will always be inadequate in the immediate point of the conflict."

In this way, the Communists hope to make small, steady gains and yet avoid the all-out conflict they do not want. "They will be careful not to put the West into such a determined position that the Communists can then neither advance another step without plunging into general war nor retreat without a serious loss of prestige."

At the same time the Soviets will not shrink from threatening general war as part of their psychological warfare against the West, Mr. Dougherty continued, because "this helps to condition the mind of the West further."

Mr. Cottrell mentioned that Stalin had once told a Western ambassador, "Russia and the West both fear war, but we fear it slightly less than you do." Mr. Cottrell added that as long as we let fear rule our actions, we will always be at a disadvantage and will never be able to deal from a position of strength, no matter how powerful our weapons may be.

Dr. Strausz-Hupé asserted that the Communists "undoubtedly" would prefer to achieve their goal without war and would certainly not want one when they are enjoying such great success with their indirect methods of expansion. At the same time, however, he pointed out that—

a general war has never been ruled out by any of the important Communist thinkers * * * we are * * * compelled to assume that, if they ever think they can annihilate us with relative impunity, they will do so * * *. As far as the Communists are concerned, the intensity of all modes of warfare is purely a matter of tactical convenience.

Summing up the views of the three political scientists on this point, Dr. Strausz-Hupé said that if the United States were ever isolated and surrounded in a hostile world, "then the Communists would not hesitate to deliver a final knockout blow."

Mr. Dougherty said the Communists recognize that the "global balance of terror operates to their advantage." As a result of cleverly manipulated Soviet psychological warfare which evokes weak, inadequate response from the West—

with each passing year, it becomes psychologically more difficult for the West to contemplate taking a decisive stand in any particular conflict situation.

In replying to a question concerning a summit conference, Mr. Dougherty said that it would be "unrealistic" to think that Moscow would negotiate an end to world tensions unless it feared it had

pushed the West so far that the West was ready to "offer effective resistance to communism at the level of global strategy * * *. They have to keep expanding the conflict and building up revolutionary tension * * *."

Referring to the current developments in the Middle East and elsewhere, the political scientists said that the world today is witnessing the results of 40 years of Communist anti-Western "agitation and conflict propaganda." The Communists "work to upset the status quo wherever it favors the West."

The political scientists stressed the fact that—

the Communists * * * are not really revolutionaries, but counterrevolutionaries * * *. Not a single major revolution during the last two generations has been sparked by the Communists.

Rather, by various techniques of deceit and subversion, Communists have made a practice of capturing revolutions actually made by others. They have "refined and developed this process to a point which surpasses our ability to imagine."

Explaining current feelings and developments among the peoples in the colonial areas of the world, Mr. Dougherty said:

Lenin and his successors converted Marxist communism from a doctrine of social class conflict within nations into a doctrine of international conflict between regions of the world, with the West as the principal target region.

Turning to methods by which the free world could counteract Communist protracted conflict and psychological warfare strategy, the political scientists made a strong plea for more responsibility and hardheadedness on the part of news analysts and others who are in positions to mold public opinion.

All too often, Mr. Cottrell said, U.S. news and information media give significant assistance to the Kremlin. He cited as one example the highly exaggerated assertions in the U.S. press at the time the Soviet Union launched the first sputnik. Numerous writers and commentators at that time fully accepted every claim made by the Moscow-controlled Tass News Agency and fed the American people "news" to the effect that the Kremlin was so far ahead of us that we hardly had a chance. Subsequent developments proved these claims to be completely wrong, but, by that time, they had had Communist-serving effect not only on the American people, but the people and leaders of many uncommitted nations.

American newscasters, Mr. Cottrell said, sometimes "vie with one another in playing the psychological warfare game with the Kremlin's cards."

Mr. Dougherty referred to the "planned misinformation" campaign that the Communists have carried on for many years to mislead the West about their industrial and technological progress, and warned the public against accepting the "Barnumized" deeds of Communist society.

While asserting that the Soviet Union and the Communists were "vastly superior" in waging psychological warfare, the political scientists said that there was no need for this condition to continue and that the roles could be reversed if the American public in general and particularly those in the communications field displayed more maturity and responsibility.

THE IDEOLOGY OF FREEDOM

vs.

THE IDEOLOGY OF COMMUNISM

DR. CHARLES WESLEY LOWRY

June 5, 1958

The churches of the free world have, in their spiritual doctrine, the key to effective opposition to communism but "I don't think the churches by and large * * * have inserted this key in the lock * * *. I do not feel as yet that the churches have really faced up to evaluating communism realistically," Dr. Lowry said in his consultation.⁸

He also expressed concern because, although there can be found in the religions of the free world an ideology that could stand up to the Communist ideology which is appealing to the "minds and souls and needs of man," no real, concerted effort is being made to take advantage of this fact:

This is where I think the free world is falling down lamentably, our own country is falling down lamentably, and the churches are falling down lamentably.

Dr. Lowry enumerated the beliefs which sustain the free world and can be used to win the ideological struggle with communism:

The dignity, innate value, and inalienable rights of man; * * * the providence of God; * * * the integrity and ultimate sovereignty of the people; * * * the limitation and the division of governmental power; * * * and the dream and the vision of a new and fairer age of liberty and democracy for all people, * * *.

While Dr. Lowry emphasized the spiritual and ideological aspects of the struggle between the free and Communist worlds, he carefully pointed out that this struggle was not limited to those areas but included many other elements—military, economic, diplomatic, technological—and that the United States cannot neglect any one of these in its fight for freedom.

"Communism," Dr. Lowry said—

is essentially a secularized, a materialized, religion or a view of life and the world that lays hold of the mind and soul.

We might say that it is atheism and idolatry carried to the extreme limit, but enclosed—I believe this to be very important—in a case or framework of scientism. Marxism comes before the world, Marxism-Leninism does, as scientific. It is able, in a sense, to get the best of two worlds. It appeals to the mind of modern man that has been conditioned by science to be scientific, which it claims to be in its understanding. It never admits it is a religion at all. It says it is science, says it is rational. * * *

⁸ See "The Ideology of Freedom v. The Ideology of Communism," Consultation with Dr. Charles Wesley Lowry, Committee on Un-American Activities, June 5, 1958.

Dr. Charles Wesley Lowry, author of "Communism and Christ," was educated at Washington and Lee, Harvard and Oxford Universities, and the Episcopal Theological School. He has served as a professor of theology at the Virginia Theological Seminary and rector of All Saints' Church in Washington, D.C. Dr. Lowry is presently the chairman and executive director of FRASCO, the Foundation for Religious Action in the Social and Civil Order, an all-faith organization which numbers leading clergymen of all major religions among its members. It is dedicated to opposing communism and all forms of totalitarianism by spiritual means and to renewing the religious and moral foundations of democracy in this and other countries.

This is the heart of religion, to believe that there is meaning in existence. A great many people in our Western culture have lost the ability to find this in traditional religions. * * *

Man can't be completely irreligious. He will find new religions. If he rejects true religion, he will find a new religion, a false one. Communism, in my judgment—this is very, very important—has been able to turn our world upside down. Literally, it has done that, because it caught hold of the mind and soul of a lot of very able people. It has inspired them or given them determination to utilize every element in society that would enable them to bring about a revolution of the masses.

Dr. Lowry expressed the belief that communism has had no direct impact on the churches of the free world, but that 19th century Socialist ferment had affected the churches, especially at the highest educational levels—through seminaries and universities—and that—

this has had a conditioning effect upon the churches which has deflected them from evaluating * * * realistically the full nature of communism.

Dr. Lowry called for a united front of all believers in God—of all religions—to counter the menace of communism:

Firstly, then, the church must realize it has an ideology. Secondly, it must take this ideology seriously. It must realize that the thing that has come down in the Judaic-Christian tradition is not a platitude, not a pill to be swallowed so it will give us a lot of comfort. It is a fighting faith. I feel this is one of the things that churchmen quite generally have not yet faced up to, that what they have is really a fighting faith. If it means anything, it has application to the deepest and toughest problems of our age.

THE IRRATIONALITY OF COMMUNISM

DR. GERHART NIEMEYER

August 8, 1958

There is "a very deep-rooted irrationality" in communism, just as there was in nazism, according to Dr. Niemeyer.⁹

There were both rational and irrational elements in the thinking of Karl Marx, Dr. Niemeyer pointed out. Marx's analysis of society, though mistaken, was the rational element. It is also the element which has been dropped by the Communists. The irrational element in his thinking was his claim that man could know "scientifically" the course of future events on the basis of certain immutable laws of history which determine just how human society will develop. This irrational belief is retained by present-day Communists.

⁹ See "The Irrationality of Communism," Consultation with Dr. Gerhart Niemeyer, Committee on Un-American Activities, Aug. 8, 1958.

Dr. Gerhart Niemeyer, professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame, is the author of "An Inquiry into Soviet Mentality." Born in Germany and educated both there and in England, he holds a doctor of laws degree from Kiel University.

Dr. Niemeyer left Germany in 1933 when Hitler came to power, went to Spain, and later came to the United States. He has taught at Princeton, Oglethorpe, Yale, and Columbia Universities; served as planning adviser in the Department of State from 1950 to 1953; and was research analyst for the Council of Foreign Relations from 1953 to 1955, when he joined the faculty of the University of Notre Dame.

Communism is "the twin" of nazism in one respect which, in the case of the Nazi leaders, led to their being classified as "insane," Dr. Niemeyer asserted. The Nazis accepted a racial ideology that had no basis "in fact or logic" and which led them to convert "public authority into an instrument dedicated to crime," that is, to the extermination of those their ideology taught were unfit to live.

Communists have done the same thing. They consider themselves "servants of the 'Goddess of History'." According to their philosophy of "scientific" materialism, the proletarian class will usher in the last of the five stages of human society—communism—and the Communists, as the "vanguard" of the proletarian class, have the role of forcefully helping this ordained course of events.

This they do by dividing people into two classes—those who "look backward," who oppose communism and therefore the course of history. These people are "reactionaries" and therefore evil. The second class is the "forward-looking" or "progressive" people—the Communists and their collaborators who are in tune with the laws of history and are therefore good—

So they, like the Nazis, divide people into those who deserve to exist and others who don't. And, just like the Nazis, they proceed to exterminate, break, suppress all those who do not fit the image of the ruling class * * * just like the Nazi state, the Communist state is one in which murder has been elevated to the dignity of government policy.

On the basis of his far-reaching study of the Communist ideology and mind, Dr. Niemeyer told the committee that it would be a mistake to attribute to the Soviet Government the same motives and interests usually attributed to other governments. Generally speaking, governments function for the common good of their citizens, for peace, law, and order. The Government of the Soviet Union, however, considers itself to be an instrument for carrying out the ideological will of the Communist Party and for using the resources and the people of the Soviet Union for that purpose.

Contrary to popular belief, Dr. Niemeyer said, the Communists' objective is not an ideal society but rather the triumph of those forces which conform to the will of history, that is, the Communist Party. Their philosophy being what it is, there can be no freedom and no individual rights in a Communist state. Individuals are regarded as mere products of their classes and as tools to be used by the Communist Party in helping to fulfill history's laws.

Dr. Niemeyer branded as mistaken the frequently expressed view of some Westerners that Communist leaders do not actually believe in the Communist ideology. There is much evidence to the contrary, he said, and gave several examples, including Khrushchev's sincere and friendly advice to Austrian Chancellor Raab that he should become a Communist because communism is "the wave of the future."

Some Westerners find it difficult to believe that a man like Khrushchev, who wields such enormous power, "could be subject to any such restraint as an ideology," Dr. Niemeyer commented, but this is only because they themselves suffer from "a weakening of the insights and convictions" that form the mainspring of our own civilization. Actually, he said, the sincere belief of the Communist leaders in their

"comprehensive and total world view" is the source of communism's strength.

Negotiating a solution to the present conflict between the Communist and free worlds is "out of the question," Dr. Niemeyer said, because of the Communist belief that "the basic reality in all historical societies is class war, and that class war is in its very nature irreconcilable." For the same reason, "peaceful coexistence" is possible only as a breathing spell for Communist leaders until they have accumulated enough power to crush other societies. Because of their fundamental beliefs, a "genuine will to peace" or an acceptance of non-Communists' right to exist is impossible on the part of Communists.

The battle between the Communist and the free world, Dr. Niemeyer said, has often been described as a battle of ideas. He granted that this is true to a certain extent, but pointed out that the "ideas" of communism have become a "mortal danger" to us by the accumulation of great power on the part of the Soviet Union. Therefore, our only hope of escaping subjection to this power lies in building superior military might. There is "no substitute" for this.

If the free world is to cope successfully with the forces of international communism, Dr. Niemeyer said, it must next strengthen its will to resist and then divest itself of the following false notions:

the idea that we live in a peaceful world;

the idea that peace with communism can be had for a reasonable price;

the idea that communism is a rational force or that its leaders are merely cynical power seekers;

the idea that we can't be defeated because "we are right";

the idea that Communists would come over to our side "if they only knew us";

the concept that we can afford "less than a supreme effort" in the battle against communism because "truth will prevail."

"Above all," he said——

in this period of "soft" Kremlin policy, we are tempted to fall into the error of believing that when Communists appear to be doing the same as other people, it actually *is* the same thing. The truth is that when Communists appear to be doing the same thing as other people, (in art, education, science, etc.), they are mostly doing just the opposite—actually pursuing their own destructive objectives through seemingly nonpolitical means. When engaged in apparent cooperation with others, they are actually fighting the struggle which to them is "the law of laws."

THE MYTH OF "TITOISM"

DR. ALEX N. DRAGNICH

September 15, 1958

Tito cannot be expected to move any farther from the Soviet orbit, Dr. Dragnich¹⁰ asserted.

Politically, ideologically, psychologically, morally—in all of these ways—Tito and his comrades feel that they are on the side of the Soviet Union. * * * They believe that the future lies with them, that the future means the destruction of liberal democratic countries, and the victory of communism.

Dr. Dragnich stated that events of the last year or two "point to the fact that Tito has constantly tried to come as close as he can to supporting Moscow's positions, even though he has been criticized [by Moscow]." From a practical standpoint, Dr. Dragnich pointed out, Tito could not hope to have Yugoslavia stand alone as the only Communist nation in the world. For this reason, he wants communism preserved in the Soviet Union and its satellites because its overthrow there would eventually mean his own downfall.

Dr. Dragnich rejected the popular conception that a kind of "national" communism exists in Yugoslavia. "Tito," he said, "has always maintained that he is not a nationalist, that they do not have national communism in Yugoslavia." He also asserted that even if a national form of communism were possible, existed in Yugoslavia, or if other Red nations went "Titoist," it would be nothing to cheer about. Even under a real "national" communism the "basic policies would be contrary to everything that we hold dear * * * basic freedoms—free choice of political leaders, free speech and free press, respect for the individual, freedom of religion—all these would be trampled in the dust by Communist tyranny."

Dr. Dragnich emphasized the fact that Tito did not leave the Cominform voluntarily, but was expelled from it against his wishes and that, since his so-called break with the Kremlin, there have been "no fundamental changes in Communist goals, or in the dominant position of the Communist Party" in the Yugoslav dictatorship. While there have been some superficial relaxations in Yugoslavia since Tito's troubles with Moscow—relaxations brought about in part by the resistance of the people to communism—there "certainly is not" any growth of freedom or democracy in Titoland.

Tito is "a most valuable ally and agent of communism," Dr. Dragnich stated, because he "helped international communism when it needed it the most." This was when communism was at its lowest ebb—after Stalin's death and the exposures that followed it. Tito then, by his statements and by his travels, succeeded in convincing many people in the Near, Middle, and Far East that "there could be a different type of communism, a good kind of communism," and that Moscow had really changed under Khrushchev's leadership. This, Dr. Dragnich said, was "a tremendous service" to the Kremlin.

¹⁰ See "International Communism in Yugoslavia—The Myth of 'Titoism,'" Consultation with Dr. Alex N. Dragnich, Committee on Un-American Activities, Sept. 15, 1958.

Dr. Alex N. Dragnich, author of "Tito's Promised Land" and professor of political science at Vanderbilt University, has also taught at Western Reserve University. He served for 2½ years—from November 1947 to May 1950—as a Foreign Service Reserve officer in the American Embassy in Belgrade where he had charge of the U.S. Information Service and its library.

On the subject of U.S. aid to Tito, the Vanderbilt University political scientist said that there never was a good case for U.S. military assistance because Tito's army is unreliable. Dr. Dragnich said that while in Yugoslavia he had asked many people there if the army would fight in case of a Soviet or satellite attack, and the general reaction was: "Fight for what? Fight to help retain this tyrant?" or "Yes, we will fight if you assure us that when it is all over with, we, too, can be free."

Economic aid might have been justifiable for a year or two after Tito's expulsion, "until we could see the trend of developments." Because Tito had killed off all opposition, there was no chance of a democratic government emerging. However, Western defenses in Europe were weak at the time; Yugoslavia's ouster from the Cominform was the first significant break in the Soviet empire; and there was a possibility that it might lead to a real split in the Communist camp. For these reasons, "some limited aid was justifiable" at the time.

The question of aid to Tito must be examined from two angles, Dr. Dragnich said—its international effects and its internal effects in Yugoslavia.

As far as the international results are concerned, the United States has succeeded in embarrassing the Soviet Union. Dr. Dragnich questioned, however, the validity of this as a goal of U.S. foreign policy when it also involved other, and perhaps more important, injurious effects. He pointed out that, on the international level again, U.S. aid has helped Tito make communism more palatable to many people by creating the illusion that a "respectable" type of communism is possible.

Internally, U.S. aid to Tito has had a negative effect. It has "tended to kill off any hopes for the realization of freedom for the people." "What hope is there," Yugoslavs said to Dr. Dragnich, "when even you people are helping this tyrant?"

Ninety percent of the Yugoslavian people are opposed to Tito and communism and, if a revolution like that of the Hungarian revolt were to take place, communism would disappear within a few days, Dr. Dragnich believes. The failure of the United States to help the Hungarian freedom fighters when they revolted, however, was "a sad blow" to the people of Yugoslavia and other Eastern European countries. For years this country had held out hope to these people and had indicated, at least indirectly, that they would receive assistance if they ever made a break for freedom. When the Hungarians did so, however, the United States did nothing. This has had a "devastating effect" on the morale of the people of Eastern Europe.

CHAPTER V

PUBLICATIONS

During the year 1958, the committee printed 424,000 copies of its hearings, consultations, and reports. In response to requests, it distributed 136,000 copies of hearings and reports of previous years.

Following is a list of committee hearings, consultations, and reports for the 2d session of the 85th Congress:

HEARINGS

- Investigation of Soviet Espionage. Part 1, October 7, 8, 9, and November 20, 1957 (printed and released in 1958); Part 2, February 28, 1956, February 25, 1958.
- Investigation of Communist Infiltration and Propaganda Activities in Basic Industry (Gary, Ind., Area). February 10 and 11, 1958.
- Investigation of Communist Activities in the New England Area. Part 1, March 18, 1958.
- Investigation of Communist Activities in the New England Area. Part 2, March 19, 1958.
- Investigation of Communist Activities in the New England Area. Part 3, March 14, 20, and 21, 1958.
- Communist Propaganda—Student Groups, Distributors, and Propagandists. Part 9, June 11 and 12, 1958.
- Communism in the New York Area (Entertainment). June 18 and 19, 1958, May 8, 1958, and April 1, 1957.
- Communist Infiltration and Activities in the South. July 29, 30, and 31, 1958.
- Communist Infiltration and Activities in Newark, N.J. September 3, 4, and 5, 1958.

CONSULTATIONS

- The Communist Program for World Conquest. Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, U.S.A., January 21, 1958.
- Communist Psychological Warfare (Brainwashing). Edward Hunter, March 13, 1958.
- International Communism (Communist Propaganda Activities in Canada). Milan Jakubec, April 3, 1958.
- Communist Psychological Warfare (Thought Control). Constantin W. Boldyreff, April 7, 1958.
- International Communism (Communist Encroachment in the Far East). Maj. Gen. Claire Lee Chennault, U.S.A., April 23, 1958.
- What Is Behind the Soviet Proposal for a Summit Conference? Dr. David J. Dallin, Dr. Anthony T. Bouscaren, Dr. James D. Atkinson, Francis J. McNamara, April 30, 1958.
- Communist Strategy of Protracted Conflict. Dr. Robert Strausz-Hupé, Alvin J. Cottrell, James E. Dougherty, May 20, 1958.
- The Ideology of Freedom vs. The Ideology of Communism. Dr. Charles Wesley Lowry, June 5, 1958.

The Irrationality of Communism. Dr. Gerhart Niemeyer, August 8, 1958.

International Communism in Yugoslavia—The Myth of "Titoism." Dr. Alex N. Dragnich, September 15, 1958.

REPORTS

Chronicle of Treason. Representative Francis E. Walter, March 3-9, 1958.

The Erica Wallach Story. March 21, 1958.

Legislative Recommendations by House Committee on Un-American Activities. June 1958.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities—What It Is—What It Does. July 1958.

Organized Communism in the United States. Revised May 1958.

Patterns of Communist Espionage. January 1959.

Who Are They? Vicente Lombardo Toledano and Luis Carlos Prestes (Mexico-Brazil). Part 8, February 21, 1958.

Who Are They?—Enver Hoxha (Albania) and Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (Rumania). Part 9, August 5, 1958.

Supplement to Cumulative Index to Publications of the Committee on Un-American Activities, 1955 and 1956. December 1958.

Annual Report for the Year 1958.

CHAPTER VI

REFERENCE SERVICE

The committee, in the course of its work over a period of many years, has assembled much valuable public source material on communism. This collection is maintained as a unit and its wealth of information is available to all Members of Congress, the committee staff, and the executive agencies of our Government through the committee's reference service.

This reference service, upon request, provides for Members of Congress written reports on individuals, organizations, and publications which include the sources of information and indicate official citations by Federal agencies of the organizations and publications.

Increased use of the reference service is reflected in the 1,373 requests for information which were handled for Members of Congress in 1958, covering 2,316 individuals and 902 organizations and periodicals. Records were found on 881 of the persons and 348 of the organizations and publications, requiring a total of 1,229 written reports.

The number of reference requests from staff members also increased in 1958, totaling 1,188. These involved checks for information on 4,605 individuals, 655 organizations and periodicals, and on about 90 general subjects. They required the writing of reports on 1,588 persons and 125 organizations, and the duplication of 1,690 exhibits for use in conducting hearings.

The daily register showed that representatives from 15 departments of the executive branch made 2,180 visits to check committee files and that about 75 percent of the visits required a full day's service.

The reference collection used as the basis for these services is composed of a vast number of newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, leaflets, letterheads, programs and other printed material issued by subversive organizations, domestic and foreign. It also contains millions of clippings from daily newspapers, as well as periodicals, reference books, and hearings and reports published by this committee, its predecessors, and many other agencies in the field.

Within itself, this collection is valuable not only because of the tremendous amount of information it contains but also because of the many old and rare items included in it. Furthermore, the committee's collection of the material is classified and indexed so that the information is readily accessible. New material, continually being added, keeps the information up to date.

CHAPTER VII

CONTEMPT PROCEEDINGS

The House of Representatives in 1958 voted contempt citations against *Edward Yellin*, *Robert Lehrer*, *Victor Malis*, *Alfred James Samter*, *Sidney Turoff*, *Sidney Herbert Ingerman*, *Paul Rosenkrantz*, *Frank Wilkinson*, and *Carl Braden*, who, as witnesses before the Committee on Un-American Activities, refused to answer pertinent questions. House contempt resolutions have been certified by the Speaker to the proper United States Attorneys for prosecutive action against each of these individuals. All have been indicted by grand juries with the exception of *Paul Rosenkrantz*, *Sidney Turoff*, and *Sidney Herbert Ingerman*. Indictments have not as yet been presented in these three cases.

Frank Wilkinson and *Carl Braden* were convicted of contempt of Congress on January 22, 1959, and each was sentenced to serve 12 months in jail.

In addition, reports and statements of facts relating to the refusal of *Harvey O'Connor* and *Donald Wheeldin* to answer questions propounded by the committee have been made to the Speaker of the House—the House not being in session—in order that certification may be made to the proper United States Attorneys as a basis for the institution of proceedings against them for contempt of the House of Representatives.

GARY, IND., CASES

The Committee on Un-American Activities continued its investigation of Communist techniques and tactics of infiltration, and the extent, character, and objects of Communist Party propaganda activities in basic industry at Gary, Ind., on February 10 and 11, 1958.

Edward Yellin, who appeared as a witness pursuant to a subpoena served upon him, came to Gary, Ind., in 1949 from New York and secured employment in the steel industry. Testimony by a former FBI undercover agent revealed that Mr. Yellin was active in Communist Party affairs after his arrival in Gary. In September of 1957, he left Gary and, at the time of the hearing, was living in Fort Collins, Colo. Mr. Yellin was a student at the College of the City of New York for 2 years, the College of Literature, Science, and Arts of the University of Michigan for 1 year, and the College of Engineering of the University of Michigan for 1 year, which facts were concealed in his application for employment by the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corp. The witness refused to answer material questions relating to the Communist Party's policy of sending "colonizers" into the steel industry and to his own Communist Party membership, basing his refusal on the first amendment to the Constitution and the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in the *Watkins* and *Sweezy* cases, relating to the validity of the committee's enabling resolution and the pertinency of the questions.

Robert Lehrer, another witness, was identified as a Communist "colonizer" who moved from New York to Gary, Ind., and concealed his college degree from Rutgers University in the filing of his application for employment. Substantially the same questions were asked this witness as were asked Yellin regarding colonization by the Communist Party in the steel industry, and the witness refused to answer for substantially the same reasons.

Alfred James Samter, a subpoenaed witness, was another highly educated young man who came from New York to Gary, Ind., in 1949, to seek employment in the steel industry, at which time, testimony revealed, he became active in Communist Party affairs. He refused to answer questions relating to colonization by the Communist Party in the steel industry, basing his refusal to answer on substantially the same grounds as those relied upon by Yellin and Lehrer.

Victor Malis is a native of Gary and a steel worker. He gave up his seniority at the steel plant to run a restaurant where the Communist Party was in the practice of holding its meetings. Later he left the restaurant business and returned to his employment in the steel industry. When questioned regarding testimony that he had engaged in Communist Party activities at the restaurant, at the steel plant, and in a steel union, the witness relied upon the first amendment in refusing to answer.

BUFFALO, N.Y., CASES

The committee continued its investigation of the dissemination of Communist propaganda in the United States at public hearings in Buffalo, N.Y., on October 1, 1957. The hearings included an investigation of the extent, character, and objects of Communist infiltration into industrial, civic, and political organizations in the Buffalo area and the execution, by administrative agencies concerned, of laws requiring the listing of printing presses and machines capable of being used to produce or publish printed matter in the possession, custody, ownership, or control of the Communist Party or Communist-front organizations.

Sidney Turoff, a former member of the State Committee of the Communist Party for the State of New York, after testifying that he had been a member of the Steel Section of the Communist Party of Erie County as late as April 1957, refused to answer questions relating to the membership of the Steel Section of the Communist Party and the disposition of printing equipment which had been sold by Alan Dietch to the Communist Party and delivered to him. His refusal was based upon the first amendment. The witness did not object to the questions on the ground of lack of pertinency. Nevertheless, the purpose of the questions was adequately explained.

Sidney Herbert Ingerman, from 1953 until the date of his testimony, was employed by Tube Manifold Corp. He admitted membership in various Communist Party cells made up of employees in the steel industry and that he had also been a member of the Steel Section of the Communist Party. He testified that he terminated his Communist Party membership during 1957. When questioned regarding the membership of his Communist Party cell, he requested an explanation of the pertinency of the question. After an appropriate explanation was made, he was directed to answer. He refused to answer, assigning as his reason that the questions were not pertinent to the inquiry and that he was not required to answer under the first amendment.

THE BOSTON CASE

In the course of the committee's investigation of the extent, character, and objects of Communist infiltration and Communist Party propaganda activities in the textile and other basic industries in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *Paul Rosenkrantz* was called as a witness, March 20, 1958. Testimony had been received that this witness, as late as 1955, had been a member of the Metals Commission of the Communist Party of New England. Although admitting Communist Party membership in 1936, he refused to give the name of the last cell of the Communist Party of which he was a member, relying upon the first amendment and lack of pertinency as a basis for his refusal. Mr. Rosenkrantz was born in Russia and became an American citizen through derivative citizenship of his father. At the time of his testimony, he was a senior at Springfield College, Springfield, Mass., prior to which he had been an employee of the Westinghouse Corp. at Springfield.

THE ATLANTA CASES

At a hearing of the committee in Atlanta on July 29, 1958, one of the subjects of investigation was Communist Party propaganda activities in the South. The committee had issued a publication on November 8, 1957, describing a newly mounted abolition campaign against the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the investigative powers of Congress, and important functions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, for the purpose of creating a general climate of opinion against the exposure and punishment of subversion. One of the Communist Party fronts described as being in the vanguard of this campaign was the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

Frank Wilkinson, a resident of Los Angeles, a member of the National Council of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and identified as a Communist in testimony, was a speaker at the ECLC gathering in New York City in September 1957 which launched this campaign. He was also executive secretary of the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms, an adjunct of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Wilkinson was in Atlanta at the time of this committee's hearings in that city and the committee subpoenaed him to appear as a witness. After stating his name, he refused to answer all questions. The only ground he assigned for his refusal was that Congress did not have the power to establish this committee. Although the question of pertinency was not raised by the witness, an adequate explanation of the pertinency of the questions was nevertheless made.

Carl Braden, another witness before the committee in Atlanta on July 30, 1958, had been identified as a Communist Party member in sworn testimony before the committee. At the time of his appearance before the committee, he was field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. When served with a subpoena, he was in Rhode Island at the home of Harvey O'Connor, National Chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Mr. Braden challenged the pertinency of various questions relating to propaganda activities in the South and his own membership in the Communist Party. After an adequate explanation of pertinency, the witness refused to answer the questions, basing his refusal on the first amendment.

THE NEW JERSEY AND CALIFORNIA CASES

During the course of hearings conducted by the committee at Newark, N.J., beginning September 3, 1958, *Harvey O'Connor*, National Chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, was served with a subpoena to appear as a witness before the committee on September 5, 1958. Mr. O'Connor, who has also been identified as a Communist Party member, refused to obey the subpoena and sent a letter to the committee advising that he declined to appear. A report and statement of Mr. O'Connor's refusal to obey the subpoena was made to the Speaker of the House of Representatives—Congress not being in session—in order that the Speaker may certify the same under the seal of the House of Representatives to the U.S. Attorney for the district of New Jersey, to the end that he may be proceeded against for contempt arising from his willful default to appear before the committee.

Donald Wheeldin, former writer for the West Coast Communist newspaper, the *Daily People's World*, was subpoenaed to appear as a witness before the Committee on Un-American Activities in Los Angeles, Calif., on September 2, 1958. When called as a witness on that day, he willfully refused to appear, in consequence of which a report and statement of the facts was made by the committee to the Speaker of the House of Representatives—the House not being in session—in order that the Speaker may certify the same under the seal of the House to the U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of California, to the end that he may be proceeded against for contempt of the House of Representatives.

OLD CASES STILL PENDING

The case of *Lloyd Barenblatt* was argued before the Supreme Court of the United States on November 18, 1958. The decision in this important case had not come down when this report was prepared. On January 16, 1958, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, by a divided opinion, upheld for the second time the conviction of *Lloyd Barenblatt*, a college instructor who was identified as a member of the Communist Party and was cited for contempt arising from his appearance before the committee on June 28, 1954. The case had been remanded to the Court of Appeals by the Supreme Court of the United States for the entry of an order consonant with its decision in the *Watkins* case.

The major issue involved in this appeal was the construction of the language of the Supreme Court in the *Watkins* case relative to the validity of the resolution creating the standing Committee on Un-American Activities. Another issue is whether that part of the opinion in the *Watkins* case relating to pertinency requires a dismissal.

The case of *Horace Chandler Davis*, a member of the faculty of the University of Michigan, found guilty of contempt on June 25, 1957, and sentenced to 6 months in prison and a fine of \$250, is pending on appeal in the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit.

The case of *Goldie E. Watson*, an elementary teacher in the Martha Washington Public School of Philadelphia, Pa., sentenced to 3 months' confinement and fined \$1,000, is pending on appeal before the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

Other cases pending on appeal before the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia are those of *Norton Anthony Russell*, an employee of Vernay Laboratories, an affiliate of Antioch College, Dayton, Ohio, who was sentenced to 30 days in jail and a fine of \$500; *John T. Gojack*, general vice president of United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America and president of its District No. 9, who was sentenced to 9 months confinement and a fine of \$500, and *Bernhard Deutch*, formerly a graduate student at Cornell University, who was sentenced to 90 days in jail and a payment of a fine of \$100, the fine having been remitted.

There are seven indictments of witnesses for contempt which have not been reached for trial; namely, *Louis Earl Hartman*, who, when subpoenaed as a witness, was engaged as a radio broadcaster in Berkeley, Calif.; *Frank Grumman*, employed as a radio operator for RCA Communications, Inc., but temporarily on leave of absence as secretary-treasurer of Local 10 of the American Communications Association; *Bernard Silber*, service writer for Western Union Telegraph Co.; *William Edwin Davis*, a resident of St. Louis, Mo.; *George Tyne*, a radio, screen, theater, and television actor; *Peter Seeger*, an entertainer; and *Elliott Sullivan*, an actor.

CHAPTER VIII

LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS

A RECORD OF LEGISLATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

A discussion of legislative recommendations would not be complete without reference to the record of legislative accomplishments resulting from recommendations made by this committee.

The Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, during the last session, made an independent research study of legislative recommendations made by the Committee on Un-American Activities and subsequent action taken by Congress and executive agencies. The committee published this study in June 1958 in an 89-page document titled "Legislative Recommendations by House Committee on Un-American Activities."¹

This document reveals that bills were introduced in the House of Representatives embodying 80 recommendations made by this committee, all but 2 of which were offered after 1949. Legislation enacted by Congress carried out 35 of these committee recommendations. Twenty-six bills were still pending at the close of the 85th Congress. The Internal Security Act of 1950, the Communist Control Act of 1954, and various provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 were among the more important legislative enactments.

Some of the recommendations made by the committee pertain more to policies which should be followed by various executive agencies than to legislative action. The conclusion is reached in this study that executive agencies of the Government have put into effect policies, orders, or regulations relating to 13 recommendations by the committee, thus indicating substantial performance of the "legislative oversight" duties of the committee as required by Rule XII of the House of Representatives.

The record of the committee, as reflected by this independent agency of the Government, refutes once and for all the assertions made by uninformed persons that this committee has no legislative purpose, or that the object of its hearings is "exposure for exposure's sake."

The research study conducted reveals that committee recommendations have been made relating to the following subjects:

- Refusal of foreign countries to accept deportees;
- Distribution of totalitarian propaganda;
- Statutory period for revocation of naturalization;
- Limitation of prosecution for passport frauds;
- Independent commission on Federal loyalty;
- Publication of names of foreign agents;
- Antisubversive Division in Department of Justice;
- Foreign agents registration;
- Deportation and exclusion of alien subversives;

¹ See "Legislative Recommendations by House Committee on Un-American Activities," June 1958.

Restriction of tax-exempt privileges of Communist educational and charitable organizations;
Second-class mailing privileges of foreign embassies;
Denial of second-class mailing privileges to subversive organizations;
Internal Security Act of 1950;
Communist Control Act of 1954;
Deportation of aliens upon conviction of crimes against the United States;
Penalty for contempt of Congress;
Study of immigration laws;
Statute of limitations in espionage cases;
Activities of embassies of Communist countries;
Employment of subversives in defense plants and Government service;
Officers of labor unions under contract with Atomic Energy Commission and Armed Forces;
Non-Communist affidavit under Taft-Hartley Act;
Single espionage statute for peace and war;
Immunity for congressional witnesses;
Revocation of commissions in Armed Forces;
Emergency powers of executive branch;
Technical surveillance (wiretapping);
Statute of limitations for prosecution for false statements by Federal employees regarding subversive activities;
Increased penalties for seditious conspiracy;
Registration of persons with training in espionage;
Compulsory testimony in congressional investigations;
Contradictory statements under oath to be punished as perjury.

LEGISLATION RECOMMENDED TO LESSEN THE IMPACT OF COURT DECISIONS ON SUBVERSIVES

1. PASSPORTS

Known Communist agents may now freely obtain U.S. passports for travel in the service of the international Communist conspiracy, following recent Supreme Court decisions which resulted in the creation of a "gap" in Federal law on the subject.

The committee therefore urges the Congress to give its immediate attention and consideration to the committee recommendation, made originally in 1956, that an unmistakably clear statute be enacted to strengthen the authority of the Secretary of State to bar Communist agents from unrestricted travel abroad.

In the cases of *Kent v. Dulles*, 357 U.S. 116, and *Dayton v. Dulles*, 357 U.S. 144, the U.S. Supreme Court, in 5-to-4 divided opinions, in the language of Mr. Justice Clark held that the Secretary of State has not been authorized by Congress to deny a passport to a Communist whose travel abroad would be inimical to our national security. The majority opinions are based upon the premise that the Secretary of State withheld passports in these cases because of the applicants' "beliefs or associations." The innumerable congressional and judicial findings of the conspiratorial character of international communism were wholly ignored.

The serious consequences of these decisions are indicated by the fact that from the 16th day of June 1958, the date of the rendition of the decisions, to the 7th day of November 1958, the State Department granted passports to 596 persons who have records of activity in support of the international Communist movement. Persons granted passports include individuals trained in Moscow, individuals who have been involved in Communist espionage activity, individuals who have performed Communist functions in countries other than the United States, and, last but not least, Communist Party members, both concealed and open, who owe an undying allegiance to the international Communist conspiracy. When considering the salutary provisions of the Walter-McCarran Act, designed to prevent this country from being overridden by Communist agents from abroad, it is shocking to learn the names of the highly placed Communists in this country who are now permitted to travel indiscriminately in the countries of our Allies, as well as in those of our enemies.

It is important at this time to restate the committee's recommendations and observations on this vital matter. In the annual report for 1956, the committee recommended:

Although recognizing the historic discretion of the Secretary of State to issue, withhold, or limit passports under regulations adopted pursuant to Executive orders, the committee believes that the hand of the Secretary should be strengthened by the enactment of legislation expressing the will and intent of the legislative branch of the Government spelled out in direct and positive form. It is believed to be highly important that this historic discretion of the Secretary of State specifically be made applicable, by statutory definition, to international travel of adherents to the Communist Party; that statutory recognition be given to basic regulations now governing passport matters; that specific statutory authority be given to the Secretary of State to issue substantive regulations in the passport field; and that specific statutory sanction be given to the review procedure in denial cases to insure freedom from arbitrary and capricious action, and protection of constitutional rights.

In view of the importance of these matters in the field of foreign relations and national security, a tight control of the issuance of passports should be observed. To assure accomplishment of this objective, penal sanctions should be provided for the issuance by Government officials of passports in violation of the express will and intent of Congress and of the regulations promulgated by the Secretary of State pursuant to statutory authority.

It is believed that H.R. 11582, introduced on June 4, 1956, if enacted into law, would satisfactorily achieve most of the basic recommendations made by the committee on this subject, provided that penal sanctions omitted in the bill are added.

H.R. 11582 was not reported to the floor of the House for action by the House of Representatives.

In the view of the committee, the unrestricted travel of persons who are or have been identified with the Communist movement presents a real deterrent to the successful prosecution of the foreign policy of this country and to the very security of the Nation. The lowering of the bars to foreign travel since the decision in these cases has, in all probability, resulted in great damage to the security of all countries which have united with us in an effort to restrain and contain the Communist movement. It is not too late to fill the "gap" in Federal law resulting from these court decisions if Congress immediately rises to its responsibility in this all-important matter.

This committee is of the opinion that most of the bills presented on this subject are inadequate in their provisions, and it recommends

that strong legislation in keeping with this committee's 1956 recommendations be enacted in an effort to resolve the problems raised by the findings of the Supreme Court in these cases.

2. STATE SEDITION LAWS

The sedition laws of 42 States of the Union fell with the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Pennsylvania v. Nelson*, 350 U.S. 497, in which it was held that the *Smith Act* preempted the field of sedition and subversion in favor of the Federal Government. This decision reads into the statute a legislative intent to occupy the whole field of the law of sedition or subversion to the exclusion of State and local governments.

Numerous bills have been introduced for the purpose of spelling out congressional intent in such a manner as to provide that Federal legislation on these subjects shall not prevent the enforcement of State statutes prescribing criminal penalties for any act, attempt, or conspiracy to commit sedition against a State or the United States, or to conspire to overthrow the government of a State or of the United States. Among those is H.R. 977, offered by Chairman Francis E. Walter of the Committee on Un-American Activities on January 3, 1957. Although the Judiciary Committee reported this bill, it was a similar bill, H.R. 3, offered by Representative Howard W. Smith, upon which the House acted in the last session of Congress. The latter bill was passed by the House, but in the last days of the session it failed of passage in the Senate by one vote.

This committee strongly recommends that the indicated remedial legislation be reintroduced and enacted into law.

3. THE ORGANIZATION CLAUSE OF THE SMITH ACT

Congressional intent was likewise the issue in the case of *Yates v. United States*, 354 U.S. 298, in which the Supreme Court of the United States dealt a lethal blow to the *Smith Act*. The Court held that the statute of limitations barred conviction, since the term "organize" as used in the *Smith Act* refers only to the initial formation of the Communist Party in 1945, as distinguished from continuing acts of organizing and recruiting.

The committee is of the opinion that in the adoption of the *Smith Act* in 1940, Congress could not have intended that the term "organize" was limited in its application to the reconstitution of the Communist Party in 1945, because that event could not have been foreseen. Therefore, Congress must have intended the word "organize" to mean a continuous process of organizing groups and cells and of recruiting new members.

The chairman, with the purpose of clarifying the meaning of the term "organize" as it is used in Title 18, United States Code, section 2385, introduced H.R. 13272 on July 2, 1958, making the term applicable to the recruiting of new members, the forming of new units, and the regrouping or expansion of existing clubs, classes, and other units of such society, group, or assembly of persons. This bill was passed by the House on August 12, 1958, but failed to come to a vote in the Senate.

The committee is of the opinion that the *Smith Act* is one of our most effective weapons against the Communist conspiracy and it recommends prompt action in plugging the "gap" in Federal law resulting from the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the *Yates* case.

4. THE ADVOCACY CLAUSE OF THE SMITH ACT

The need for clarification of congressional intent with respect to the terms "advocate" and "teach" as used in the *Smith Act* is indicated by the decision of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in reversing the conviction of six second-rank Communist leaders for violation of the *Smith Act*, *United States v. James E. Jackson et al.*, C.C.A. 2d, 1958, 257 Fed. 2d 830. This decision was based upon the so-called "call to action" test laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States in the *Yates* case. In commenting upon the holding in the *Yates* case, the court stated:

In distinguishing this extremely narrow difference between advocacy or teaching which constitutes a violation from that which does not, the Supreme Court said: "The essential distinction is that those to whom the advocacy is addressed must be urged to *do* something, now or in the future, rather than merely *believe* in something."

The committee is of the opinion that the Supreme Court of the United States in the *Yates* case, in attempting to construe the terms "advocate" and "teach" as terms of art, wholly failed to ascertain the obvious intent of Congress as disclosed by the customary meaning of those terms when used in conjunction with the terms "duty" and "necessity" as used in the act. The question of whether advocacy and teaching of the *duty* and *necessity* of overthrowing the Government by use of force and violence constitutes mere advocacy and teaching of an abstract doctrine or whether it is advocacy or teaching directed at promoting of unlawful action, was neither considered nor decided by the Court in the *Yates* case. To construe the terms "advocate" and "teach" out of the context in which they were used could only result in doing violence to the plain intent of Congress in the use of those terms. Therefore, the chairman, on August 5, 1958, offered an amendment to Title 18, U.S. Code, section 2385, which seeks to clarify the congressional intent by defining the terms "advocate," "teach," "duty," "necessity," "force," and "violence," as used in that section.

The committee considers it essential that the *Smith Act* be strengthened and buttressed by the adoption of the suggested legislation and the consideration of any other legislative proposal which would renew the effectiveness of the *Smith Act* as a weapon in the national defense and the internal security of the country.

5. FEDERAL LOYALTY PROGRAM

In the dissenting opinion by Mr. Justice Clark, concurred in by Mr. Justice Reed and Mr. Justice Minton, the Supreme Court's order in the case of *Cole v. Young*, 1956, 351 U.S. 536, "has stricken down the most effective weapon against subversive activity available to the Government." The result of the decision in this case is to limit

greatly the effectiveness of the Summary Suspension Act of 1950 and Executive Order 10450 issued thereunder. The act involved provides that the head of certain Government agencies may suspend a civilian officer or employee whenever he shall determine such termination necessary or advisable in the interest of the national security of the United States. In holding that dismissal of an employee was not authorized by the 1950 act, the Court held that the term "national security" is used in the act in a definite and limited sense and relates only to those activities which are directly concerned with the Nation's safety.

The committee agrees with the statement in the dissenting opinion by Mr. Justice Clark that—

It is not realistic to say that the Government can be protected merely by applying the act to sensitive jobs. One never knows just which job is sensitive. The janitor might prove to be in as important a spot securitywise as the top employee in the building. The Congress decided that the most effective way to protect the Government was through the procedures laid down in the act.

The committee recommends, therefore, that the Summary Suspension Act of August 26, 1950, relating to the suspension of employment of civilian personnel of the United States in the interest of national security, be amended to define the term "national security" as meaning all governmental activities of the U.S. Government involving the national safety and security, including but not limited to activities concerned with the protection of the United States from internal subversion or foreign aggression. The committee also recommends that the act be amended so as to provide that all employees of any department or agency of the U.S. Government are deemed to be employed in an activity of the Government involving national security.

OTHER LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS

1. LABELING OF FOREIGN COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

The committee has conducted investigations and hearings in Boston, Buffalo, New York, Newark, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Atlanta, New Orleans, and San Francisco, regarding the entry and dissemination within this country of foreign Communist propaganda. The legislative purpose of this inquiry was to determine the necessity for, and advisability of, amendments to the Foreign Agents Registration Act, in order to counteract more effectively Communist schemes and devices being used to avoid the prohibitions of the act.

Testimony revealed the importation and dissemination of millions of pieces of Communist propaganda every year without compliance with the laws relating to the filing and labeling of political propaganda. The committee recommends, therefore, that the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 be amended so as to extend the application of section 4 of the present law to importers of political propaganda and to persons not within the United States who use the U.S. mails to disseminate such propaganda within this country.

2. REGISTRATION OF COMMUNIST-FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

Certain organizations have adopted the ruse of ostensibly dissolving or changing their names upon the institution of proceedings by the Attorney General before the Subversive Activities Control Board for the purpose of compelling the organizations to register as Communist fronts.

The committee recommends that title 1 of the Internal Security Act of 1950 be amended by adding a new section providing that the dissolution or reorganization of an organization shall not prevent the institution of proceedings under section 13 or 13(a) of the act, nor shall it prevent a final determination in any proceedings instituted under either of such sections.

3. DISRUPTIVE CONDUCT BY CONGRESSIONAL WITNESSES

As a result of the continued study that the committee has given to the problem of dealing with disruptive and abusive conduct by certain witnesses, the recommendations made by this committee in its annual report for 1956 are repeated. Title 8, United States Code, sections 192 and 194, should be amended so as to provide that every person who misbehaves in the presence of either House or any joint committee established by a joint or concurrent resolution of the two Houses, or any committee or committees of either House of Congress, or so near thereto as to obstruct such House or committee in the performance of its duties, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor punishable in the manner now prescribed for the refusal of a witness to answer any question pertinent to the matter under inquiry. A full discussion of the basic reasons for the making of this recommendation appears in the annual report for the year 1956, at pages 57 and 58.

4. FRAUDULENT USE OF SOCIAL SECURITY CARDS

The committee heretofore has reported the fraudulent use of social security cards by functionaries of the Communist Party and has expressed doubt that such conduct comes fully within the prohibition of any Federal statute. Committee investigations revealed that Communist agents were able to obtain employment in defense industry with the aid of social security cards made out in fictitious names. In order to eliminate legal loopholes which facilitate the penetration of saboteurs and subversives into our vital industries, the committee therefore once again recommends that section 1107 of the Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C., sec. 1307, be amended by providing that any person who, for the purpose of procuring, obtaining, or retaining employment by, in, or upon any defense facility, war utilities, national defense premises, or national defense utilities, shall exhibit to his employer or prospective employer a social security account number card bearing a false, assumed, or fictitious name, without disclosing his true identity, shall be fined not more than \$1,000, or imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both.

5. SURVEILLANCE BY TECHNICAL DEVICES

Information obtained through surveillance by technical devices should be permitted as evidence in matters affecting the national security provided that adequate safeguards are adopted to prevent any abuse of civil liberties.

6. TRANSPORTATION OF CLASSIFIED GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

The unauthorized transportation in interstate commerce of Government documents falling within a top secret, secret, or confidential classification should be made a criminal action.

7. STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS FOR SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES

The 5-year statute of limitations for prosecution of the offenses of treason, espionage, sabotage, and other subversive activities should be amended so as to permit prosecutions for a period not to exceed 15 years from the time of commission of the offense.

8. STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS FOR PERJURY

The present 3-year statute of limitations for prosecution of offenses committed in violation of Title 18, United States Code, sections 1001 or 1621, dealing with false statements and perjury, should be extended to 10 years when involving subversive activities and connections, and in instances where a person becomes an officer or employee of the United States or of any department or agency thereof, or of any corporation the stock of which is owned in whole or in part by the United States, or any department or agency thereof, such person should be prosecuted, tried, and punished for such offense at any time within 10 years after such person has ceased to be employed as such officer or employee.

9. WILLFULLY CONTRADICTORY STATEMENTS

The committee desires to restate its opinion that willfully contradictory statements made under oath by a witness before Federal grand juries, Federal courts, or congressional bodies should be punishable as perjury without the present requirement that the Government prove which of the statements is false. When two contradictory statements are made, one of which must be false, the Government must now prove the falsity by testimony of two independent witnesses or by the testimony of one witness and corroborative evidence. Bills introduced in the House and the Senate during the 84th Congress had the effect of remedying this situation by requiring the Government to prove only that the statements of a witness are themselves contradictory—provided that they are willful, concern material matters, and are made within 3 years of one another.

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